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THE EAST IN THE WEST

By C. F. ANDREWS.

Although Europe owes so much to the Greeks in the intellectual and spiritual spheres, especially in that region of artistic creation where pure thought and lucid imagination meet, yet the Greek mind, with one singular and hitherto unexplained exception, dwelt rather upon that which was perfect in proportion than that which was beyond all limits.

The exception was Plato. He draws nearest of all among the Greeks to the mind of India. For he is never content merely with the earthly perfection which is visible and to be reached by human endeavour. He is ever seeking for that 'heavenly city, which hath the foundations, whose builder and maker is God.'

The essential Greek mind came back with a rebound in Aristotle, so sane, so balanced in every subject that he touches, but always falling short of that idealism, to which Plato gave the very name we still use to-day. We might, without any incongruity, imagine Plato taking his abode among the forest dwellers of ancient India; declaring with them: *Listen to me, ye children of the Immortal, I have seen Him, the Infinite Personality, that is beyond Time and Place.* But we can scarcely dream of Aristotle, the realist, dwelling for long in that atmosphere. Some passages in the Greek dramatic poets breathe the same air as Plato, but it is not so marked in them as it is in him.

The Age of Pericles, which was the crown of the Greek Period in human history, owed much of its distinction to this sense of finite proportion in human affairs. The lines of the architecture of the Parthenon have this proportion always in view.

There is no leading architectural line soaring upward to the skies, like those in some of the greatest Hindu temples and in the Gothic cathedral spires. To take another sphere of art, where the Greeks equally excelled, the beauty of the Greek sculpture is in the contour of the perfect physical form of man and woman, realised in white marble without a flaw in the technique. The restraint of the treatment is so severe that there is little place for idealistic flights of the imagination, as in Hindu sculpture.

The same is true in other subjects. Drama, for instance, where once more the Greeks were able to produce a perfect vehicle of art, was controlled by the dramatic unities that strictly limited the field of action. The Muse of History again, to give one more example out of many, when at last she finds her highest exponent in Thucydides, not only creates a form which can never be surpassed, but eschews fable and legend with an exactness that would have satisfied the standards of modern science. Indeed, as we shall see later, modern science itself, with its realistic outlook upon life, is in a very true sense the greatest after-product of the Greek mind.

These wonderful children of antiquity, whose intellect had reached a clarity concerning the visible world which has rarely, if ever, been equalled, shrank back from the infinite and the unlimited as though afraid to venture forward into the darkness. It is a very strange limitation; and it surprises one ever more and more in the Greeks, when one comes back to them after Indian studies.

Still stranger does it become, when one considers the character of Odysseus in the second great epic ascribed to Homer. He is the typical Greek, wise and many-thoughted, who has gone to the verge of the unknown. But here we find that even he shrinks back. There are limits which in his daring adventure he may not cross. He stands at the head of the race, in the dawn of its history, both as an example of its astonishing temerity and its no less astonishing reticence, sanity and proportion.

Recent archæological researches have shown us against what a background of mad passion and insensate fear this sanity stood out in daily life. The art of Sophocles was created out of the raw material of the revels of the Dionysiac festival. It repre-

sented their sublimation rather than their repression. The Bacchæ of Euripides shows us for a moment that frenzy let loose. The object of the dramatist, as Aristotle finely described it in well-known words, was to cleanse the human mind through fear and pity. We can see the same restraint in the dramatic rule that the gruesome deed of murder should never be enacted on the stage.

It is true, that this supremely sane outlook of the Greeks saved them from gross irrationalisms and superstitions. To the Greek mind at Athens, as the plays of Aristophanes show clearly, the older legends of the gods and goddesses had become objects of laughter and satire rather than belief. But there is a nemesis in human affairs, which always follows close upon the heels of finite perfection. The Greek genius was amazingly short-lived. It is true that its results persisted. But its achievements were crowded into one glorious century; and then the blossom faded. We have not been able again to reach that exquisite completeness, which marked Athens at its prime; but in many other ways we have advanced far further and discovered things of which the Athenian intellect never even dreamt.

It would be true, perhaps, to suggest that Europe to-day, with its new world-problems of psychology, philosophy, and religion, which have to be dealt with one by one, has more to learn from ancient India than from ancient Greece. We may even venture to predict that the present century in Europe will draw its greatest sources of new knowledge from India and the East in all the matters pertaining to the human soul. If this proves to be true, the reason will be, not that Greece is ever to be challenged afresh in her own sphere, but rather because, along with the growth of the conception of human personality, and of the universe as pervaded by one divine spiritual life, we shall necessarily turn away from the Greeks.

If we look along other channels that flowed into the West and helped to form the reservoir of human thought in the ancient classical world of Europe, we shall find that this limited outlook of the Greeks was not confined to them alone. It is not necessary to dwell long upon the Roman mind, with its solidly practical,

utilitarian account of the universe as a fit place to live in. That mind was obviously mundane, and the exceptions were very few indeed. A strange cross-fertilisation with the Stoicism of the Greeks produced some rare plants in this barren soil. Idealism in Marcus Aurelius is more pronounced than in any other ancient, since the days of Plato. We note the exception, but it only proves the rule of the essential Roman limitation of spiritual vision and their concentration on secular affairs.

We come to a more debatable area, when we consider the Jews, as they entered into the life of the Roman Empire. In spite of much in the Old Testament, which clearly passes into the unseen, we are learning afresh every day, as we examine more carefully the Jewish records, how limited, as in the case of Rome, their conceptions were. The great exceptions come here in the Prophets and the Psalms; and these have formed the spiritual nourishment of the Christian Church. But the average Jewish outlook upon life had gradually hardened into a legal ceremonial code, which shut out by a dead wall of barren morality the conception of the Infinite. The 'perfect' man, at the time of Christ, was the Jew who kept, day by day, the routine of the moral code of commandments, never swerving to the right hand or to the left. God's favour was supposed to be confined to one race, the Jewish race. This whole attitude led in its turn to an almost 'classical' tradition, if we may so use the word, which was moral rather than artistic and far less beautiful than that of the Greeks, though possessing a certain finite attractiveness of its own.

2.

The strange volcanic upheaval caused by the Christian Revolution consisted in this, that it tore away from its foundations, with a shock of tremendous explosion, this classical life of man in the Mediterranean area. For the Christian Faith started out at once on its romantic career, uprooting, destroying and obliterating like an earthquake all boundaries which man had reared up during the past ages in order to shut out the terrors of the unknown. It revelled in the unseen and the extreme, and even at times the bizarre.

An emaciated form, writhing upon a gibbet, called a Cross, shocked the artistic sensibilities of the Greek world, just as the cry of unlimited forgiveness which came from His lips in death shattered all the legal ideas of righteousness among the Jews. "We preach Christ crucified," said St. Paul, "to the Jews, a stumbling-block; to the Greeks, foolishness; but unto them which are called, Christ, the power of God and the wisdom of God. Because the foolishness of God is wiser than man, and the weakness of God is stronger than man."

This was a Revolution indeed, in the midst of so much sane and settled life! Into the Roman world of law and order and security: into the Greek world of limited artistic perfection: into the Jewish world of justice based on exact requital, this strange portent came, with its transposition of all values and its unswerving gaze upon the infinite. 'The things that are seen' said St. Paul, explaining the message, 'are temporal: but the things that are unseen are eternal.' This cry from the East had reached the West in many forms before; but this time it came with the fulness of spiritual power.

There can be little doubt as to whence this new upheaval ultimately originated. It sprang from the East itself, where the unseen and the eternal had absorbed the souls of men for long ages past. Other Eastern cults had crossed the border and gained an entrance into the Mediterranean area. They had failed, but this succeeded. While it overleaped the classical limitations of the Greek, the Roman and the Jew, and appeared at first sight to represent an amazing travesty of all true proportion, revelling in exaggerations more fantastic than the Orpheus cult, which formed its most serious rival, yet it soon proved itself to possess a higher wisdom of its own which was able to meet the needs of the age and win acceptance.

Though clearly not the outcome of Judæa alone, it had its roots in the Jewish religion and absorbed the teaching of the Psalms and Prophets. While it had no intimate relation to the classical tradition of the Greeks, yet it was able to find in Plato's writings a *præposatio evangelica* and it soon began to express its own ideas of the Infinite in Plato's language. Though the Roman Empire instinctively persecuted the new faith, fearing its rival

strength, yet the Stoic outlook upon the universe, which held the minds of the greatest Romans, became appropriated by Christianity. It began, almost at once, to use the well-worn aphorisms of the Stoics just as it also used the sentences of Plato and the Hebrew Prophets.

I would wish to break off at this point and state in a parenthesis that historical criticism and research have yet to give a final answer to the questions, which have already been adumbrated in this paper,—how, for instance, Plato himself is related to the East; how far the Stoics, starting from the extreme south-eastern corner of Asia-minor, had come under the sphere of Eastern thought; how far the Christian Faith itself is an Eastern product, tracing its origin not only back to Judæa, but to India,—the home of the religions of the East. If I might venture to give my own tentative opinion, formed after many years of patient revision of thoughts and experiences and tentative conclusions, I regard it as probable that a far greater Eastern element is contained in primitive Christianity than I had previously imagined. It was not without justification that the Roman Empire regarded it as an 'Eastern Cult,' and compared it with other Eastern faiths which had advanced westward.

At first, it hardly seemed likely that a new philosophy of religion would develop out of the new experience of these early Christians. We have seen how profoundly un-Jewish that experience was, and also how un-Greek and un-Roman. The Christian doctrine of the Cross,—of suffering without limit and without retaliation, which was there vividly and immediately represented,—was repugnant to classical antiquity. We have to go to the early Buddhist Scriptures for such idealism of suffering and sacrifice, embodied in a whole society, and not merely in exceptional individuals. Therefore it had very little 'atmosphere' at first in the West: it was a thing strange and outlandish. It seemed likely to follow the course of other Oriental mysteries, which had come westward, and to appeal only to the vulgar crowd.

But two remarkable writers at a very early date fulfilled this miracle of approximation,—St. Paul and St. John. They were able, by personality and genius of the very highest order, to link

the primitive Christian thought, on the one hand to the passages in the Jewish scriptures which spoke of an infinite redeeming value in suffering itself, and on the other hand to the idealism of Plato and the Stoics. The crown of this new philosophy of life was reached in the Prologue of St. John's Gospel and in the conclusion of the same writer's Epistles, that 'God is Love.' Here is a point where religion and philosophy, ethics and metaphysics, meet and combine.

If we go back for a brief moment to the spiritual thoughts of the East that were prevalent in religion outside the Mediterranean area before the birth of Christ, we shall find the same conception of the Divine Nature as ultimately 'Love' developed slowly by human experience. It was faintly outlined in that most precious age of religious thought, the Upanishad period, which had declared : *He manifests His immortal form as Joy*, —where the word 'Joy' contains much of the context of the word 'Love' as used by St. John. But it is in the early Buddhist, and in the Jain, doctrine of Ahimsa, that the teaching is made fruitful in practical life. The phrase, "The crown of all religion is Ahimsa" is indeed a great landmark in the religious history of the human race. This doctrine of Ahimsa, to a remarkable degree, ran a parallel course to that conception of Love in Christianity, which "suffereth long and is kind, envieth not, vaunteth not itself, thinketh no evil"; it has not yet reached its limits, as we can see in new religious movements in India to-day.

The sudden impact of the Christian Revolution on the West, which carried with it some of the atmosphere of Eastern mystical religion, resulted in a remarkable revival of Platonism under Porphyry and Plotinus at Alexandria. This Neo-Platonism, as it was called, was to affect profoundly the later history of human thought. It left a deep mark upon Christianity itself.

Before Neo-Platonism arose, the direct touch with India had been well-established by the Christian Church. Pantænus and Origen, two of the Greek Fathers, had each of them obtained definite knowledge and experience about India. Pantænus left the highest academic position in Alexandria to visit India in person. He brought back manuscripts and also records of Christians who had already settled there. This was before the

end of the second century A.D. Therefore it is not unlikely that the Neo-Platonists, in their turn, were constantly in touch with the spiritual teaching of the East and drew largely from it in their mystical religious teaching.

It is a strangely pathetic and lonely figure,—St. Augustine, —which closes this chapter of classical antiquity, as it yielded stubbornly but inevitably to the Christian Faith. Torn by repentance and doubt, exalted by hope and faith and love, himself one of the tenderest souls that ever breathed, standing out above the wreckage of the classical age, he gave to the West, more than any other single man, those central terms of its new religious philosophy which still remain paramount in the modern age. In his search after God, he sought also to fathom the infinite depths of human personality and to find there a true reflection of the divine. In this ardent mystical quest, by a singularly different route, but all the while aiming to reach the same goal, he comes nearest of all to Plotinus.

This intuitive vision of the Infinite carries us on the one hand back to the profound thinkers of the East and, on the other, forward to much of the new psychology of this modern age. His ardent and passionate longing for the presence of God in the soul which could never be satisfied with the perfection of this present world, shows us how far we have travelled from the antique classical finite aim of the Greeks and Romans. He stands at the portal of those realms of Christian romance, which were the dream of the Middle Ages—those 'Ages of Faith' in Europe, wherein myth and legend made up the daily life and experience of vast masses of mankind, and the solid earth, with its attractions of the flesh, was left far behind by multitudes in the search for the Holy Grail and the Divine Bliss.

3.

Following out, very rapidly indeed, the course of these Ages of Faith, as they affect our present subject, we find how, in the midst of much that was formal and crude and literal and coarse in spiritual texture, there were in every generation tender and refined souls who sought to follow St. Augustine along the

mystical way, and to sound the depths of the human spirit in its search for God, approaching with awe and wonder the infinite ideal. They climbed painfully but triumphantly the ascent which they learnt to call the *Scala Perfectionis*,—the steep pathway or stair-case of the soul, which led to the Beatific Vision. The "purgation" with which it began, led on to "illumination", and lastly to "union" in which it found its goal.

Their search for inward truth led them also, like St. Augustine before them, to enter the inner depths of their own personality and to seek out the soul's direct relation to the universe and God. St. Benedict, St. Barnard, Abelard, St. Francis, Dante, Thomas à Kempis, each of these in varying degree and mode represents during these "Ages of Faith" this passionate search for infinite truth. Not seldom they neglect and despise the intellectual light altogether and fail to realise its vital purpose as a true guide to the soul. But deep down in the consciousness of man a new range of human thought was being examined and explored. We, in this modern age, are now seeking to gather in the treasure, which they have left behind. When we compare it with the mysticism of the East, we discover a new and beautiful kinship. It is perhaps the age when the West most nearly approached the East in the realm of spiritual thought.

Amid all this that was pointing to higher regions of the spirit yet unreached, there was another side in these Middle Ages of Europe which led to a reaction : for there was a flaw at the base of Christianity itself as conceived in the West. The romantic element in the Christian Faith, as we have seen, could not arrive at any compromise with the ancient classical world.

The artistic proportion of the Greeks, which had given an external unity to matter and spirit, soul and form, broke up before the new intensive moral idealism of the Christian Faith, that knew no limit to the powers of sacrifice and devotion and counted all the world as dross that it might win Christ. At the same time, this Christian ideal itself went to excess and extravagance. It raised more difficulties than it could by its own power resolve. Deep down in its very inmost structure, as we see from St. Paul's Epistles, there was a perpetual conflict

between matter and spirit, unresolved and seemingly unresolvable, a dualism that was profound. Throughout the Middle Ages, this war between the soul and the flesh was carried on with an unrelenting zeal. It gave rise to dogmas, which made havoc of sane thinking, and led to abnormalities and excesses which rendered impossible the healthy intellectual growth of mankind.

4.

The thinking mind of Europe could, in the end, no longer bear the strain of this fantastic idealism; this perpetual otherworldly outlook which never reached the truth. It swung back, on the full tide of the Classical Renaissance, to the frank acceptance of the mundane standard of values, and of the finite classical conception of virtue, as engaged only with the present earthly existence, leaving the future as unknown. The romantic element was freely thrown aside. Men determined to obey priests and popes no longer. They prepared to live in the present, enjoy the present, and be pagan in their outlook once more. Even cardinals and popes themselves joined in the reaction, when it reached its highest flood point, sweeping away all the great landmarks of the Middle Ages in Church and State alike.

In one sense, the Modern Age of Europe, which followed upon the Medieval Age, has meant a return to realism and a weakening of the idealist outlook upon life. The earlier discoveries of modern science have been made by the concentration of the human mind upon reason and experiment, and the abandonment of the pathway of direct intuition as a source of knowledge. Thus, in more senses than one, a revival of the classics has taken place. In all this process, there can be little doubt that the West has drifted further and further away from its spiritual basis in the unseen.

Yet even in the West, the romantic element had not been altogether left behind during the Age of Reason, which followed the Classical Renaissance. In the Eighteenth Century, it gave birth to the enthusiastic movement known as the Evangelical Revival, which brought into the homes of the poorest a mystical

faith, transforming and purifying in its effects. George Fox and the Society of Friends represented another range of mystical religious thought and life. In Germany, also, there dawned a new illumination, that eagerly availed itself of every ray of light from the East, and began once more to follow the pathway of intuition as a means to attain truth. Philosophy, with due reverence, was set up boldly upon its throne; and renewed search into unexplored regions of the human mind brought fresh facts and experiences to light.

In the Nineteenth Century the Modern Age of Science began. The Christian Church, which had bound itself hard and fast with irrational dogmas and creeds, could not at first cut itself loose, and make the fearless appeal of free mystical religion to every faculty of man to join in the search for truth. A fatal conflict went on, all through the century, between intellect and faith. Science became more and more abstracted from religion, and philosophy took the same precipitous course. While great gains have been achieved in certain directions by such abstractions, great losses have also ensued. The wholeness of life has been lost sight of, and humanity itself has been divided into compartments.

The conception of the universe in Europe, governed by the postulates of science, has tended to become rather that of an infinite series and a never-ceasing flux, than that of a spiritual ideal being realised under conditions of space and time. The imagination of the modern man is taught by science to picture the crash of systems and the wreck of worlds in an endless sequence. The infinitely great and the infinitely small in nature have been revealed to man's naked gaze as never before, but the mind and the spirit find no rest in all these bewildering discoveries. Modern men frequently retire from them, jaded and worn, to the limited ideal of ancient Greece, and say: "Let us leave the infinite alone; it can never be fathomed. Let us perfect that which we know and beautify the world in which we live."

The new age still gropes for that spiritual vision of the Infinite which is satisfying, not terrifying and morbid; that vision which alone can unify the world. But as yet there has not

been fashioned in the West any such comprehensive philosophy, as will meet the true demands of religion and science alike, and bring a new unity to mankind.

In the present turmoil and confusion in Europe after the Great War, which shook the confidence and pride of the West, there are very many earnest souls who are looking more and more wistfully to the East. They seek to discover whether the harmony between religion and science on the one hand, and science and philosophy on the other, may not be found in that eastern quarter of the globe which has hitherto been for the most part outside the field of European research.

Already, the resources of the classical West, as we have seen, have been examined, and tried again and again, and found wanting. The Christian Faith has also been tried with varying success. And in recent years it has been found too tightly bound by ecclesiastical dogmas to give any prospect that it will suddenly unloose itself and come forth with new strength unfettered for the great task that lies before us. Therefore, man's thoughts are travelling elsewhere; and the culture and civilisation of the world are seen to be far vaster than European insularity ever deemed.

One thing is practically certain. The old isolation of the different cultures and religions of the world, which was originally in a great measure geographical, is now rapidly vanishing away. The different currents of thought and life among the races of mankind have to be made to flow into one another in the future. Channels of intercommunication must be cut. The romantic and idealistic element, which is still strong in the religions of the East, must be brought into closer contact with the classical and realistic element, which came back to modern Europe with the Renaissance and has dominated European thought ever since. Only thus can the spiritual conception of the Universe, which is innate in the consciousness of mankind, in East and West alike, find its true setting and its full expression.

THE EAST IS MY LOVE.

The East is my love.
I have taken her to dwell in my wild, throbbing heart, for *there* is sanctuary.
There she has her throne, built up of golden thoughts and sacred memories,
And studded with bright gems of kindly deeds.

* * *

My love brings sadness in her train.
She is so beautiful, with that perfected beauty which is born
Of inner holiness and unsmirched mind:
As though the radiance of her God-given soul had pierced the armour of her outer being
To dwell for ever in her lovely face.
Her dewy eyes are as the depths of unknown seas,
Her wine-hued mouth is pregnant with great utterances,
Her night-black hair is as a silken mantle
To hide her perfect form from alien view.
And from her sadness springs an untold joy, the joy of faith and spiritual dreams,
For those who dwell not in the glare of stark modernity's soul-blinding light.
The feebleness of little words betrays me, when I would most give eloquence its vent
In praising of my love.
I cannot preach Forgetfulness of Self, who am so full of Self
In calling her my love.
Yet would I have her loved by all the world, enshrined in ev'ry heart,
The beacon-ray of ev'ry lonely soul, the spirit-guiding influence, that tempers
Humanity grown callous and debauched.

* * *

The East is my love.
I have taken her to dwell in my wild, throbbing heart,
And none shall penetrate this secret dwelling-place,
Save those only who love her as myself.
No hand shall wrench us twain apart, my love and I.
For we are One in endless unity with God.

Gwendoline Goodwin. *(Saki).*

SIKH IDEALS.

By Prof. K. M. Panikkar.

Though Sikhism is essentially a product of Hindu culture, yet, as religion, it affirms certain important principles which are not indeed incompatible with Hinduism, but are generally considered to be against Hindu practice. The Sikhs are strong monotheists and no Sikh may believe in a plurality of gods. Again the Sikh social structure contemplates no caste system, though by association with Hinduism caste has come to be a factor as much among the Sikhs as among other Hindu sects. The Sikhs worship no idols, their Gurudwaras being merely temples where the Granth Sahib is regularly read.

Sikhism, in fact, is a simple religion with but few dogmas and no complicated theology. Like Buddhism it is a religion which puts the greatest emphasis on good and upright conduct and not on faiths and beliefs.

> Truth is the highest of all virtues, but true life is even higher.
>
> I have consulted the four Vedas, but those writings find not God's limits.
>
> I have consulted the four books of the Muhammadans but all God's work is not described in them.
>
> And I, Nanak, say man shall be true to his faith if he fears God and does good works.

Thus says Nanak; and, unlike Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism, the simple principles preached by him have not so far been thickly overlaid by a tangle of wild metaphysical speculation. Probably the shortness of the period during which Sikhism has had independent existence,—between the death of Guru Govind Singh and now there have elapsed only two centuries,—accounts for this. The rustic hardihood of the Jats, from whom the Sikhs have been mainly recruited, had perhaps also its share in keeping the religion of Guru Govind a simple faith with no formularies and rituals.

Whatever the reason, one of the chief features of Sikhism is, that it is a religion without a priesthood, without a theology and

to a large extent without a philosophy of its own. The philosophical background of Sikhism is entirely Hindu. It accepts all the distinctive thought of the Vedanta, not only in its monotheism but in the idea of *Karma, Máyá,* and the unknowableness of the Godhead. Salvation is accepted as *Nirvána,* freedom from rebirth, and the idea of transmigration is at the very root of Sikh religion. In the Japji itself—the daily prayerbook of the Sikhs —there are many direct allusions to this :

By His orders some obtain Nirvana : by His orders others must ever wander in transmigration.

They who are outside Thy favour find no entrance and wander in many births.

Again the idea of *Karma,* as being the one supreme test, is of the very essence of Sikhism : "Bear, O my soul, the result of thine own acts", says Nanak.

It is clear enough on examination that, though the independence of Sikhism as a religion is undeniable, its whole philosophy is based on orthodox Hindu thought. More than this, the Sikhs accept as a whole the main traditions of Hindu mythology. In the Japji appears the following passage :

One Máyá in union with God gave birth to three acceptable children. One of them is the Creator, the second is the Provider, the third performeth the function of the Destroyer.

Guru Govind Singh himself translated Devi Máhátmyam and incorporated it in the Granth Sahib. The destruction of the various demons by the Devi is still a portion of the Sikh sacred books. The whole Granth Sahib, in each of its successive stages, shows distinct and unmistakable evidence of being Hindu in thought, expression and out-look.

But there is one important point on which the first Guru as well as his successors differed fundamentally from the other religious reformers and thinkers of Hindu India. Their spirit was essentially modern. The scholasticism of the mediæval Achárya with its wearying arguments and interpretations of texts does not touch them.

Guru Nanak treated Hindu tradition just as would a modern educated Hindu who is pious and religious but at the same time

endowed with a critical attitude of mind. He accepted the traditional setting for his thought, used the same categories and to a large extent borrowed even the same phraseology, but he transformed the whole by a new out-look.

Nanak's relation to the main current of Indian philosophic thought and tradition is almost the same as of the whole succession of devotional poets from Kabir to Tagore, and the astonishing similarity between the hymns of the first Guru and the best passages in Gitanjali would be noticed even by a casual reader. Here is an example :

> What attributes of thine Oh Lord shall I blazon abroad?
> I cannot even attain one of thy many excellences;
> I am ever a sacrifice unto thee.
> Gold, silver, pearls, rubies which gladden the heart
> These things the Bridegroom hath given me,
> And I have fixed my heart on them.
> I had palaces of brick fashioned with marble,—
> In these luxuries I forgot the Bridegroom and sat not near Him.

Guru Nanak was eminently a poet and, like all founders of religion, he was concerned more with the realisation by his disciples of certain great truths than with the acceptance of rituals, formulas, or other practices of priest-craft. He did not assume the function or attitude of the lawgiver.

Nanak was purely a philosopher or mystic and not a political or social leader, there differing from the Prophet of Arabia whose three cardinal principles—the repudiation of image worship, the acceptance of the principle of monotheism and the universal brotherhood of man are all accepted by the first Sikh Guru. Muhammad was also a law giver. He laid down the law for the Muslims in all matters affecting this world. Nanak was content with simply teaching the truths of his religion and he left his disciples socially within the fold of the Hindu community.

The Sikh lawgiver—the priest who combined the functions of the prince, like, Muhammad, Hildebrand and Calvin—was

Guru Govind Singh who gave the social shape of a distinct community to the followers of the Nanak Panth and thus preserved their identity from being sunk in the vastness of Hindu sects and creeds.

The principle that Nanak taught was mainly that *there is only one God,* Akál Purukh*, (which means the eternal being) whose qualities cannot be known or defined by human understanding.

The true one was in the beginning
The true one was in the primal age
The true one is now also.
O Nanak, the true one also shall be.

Man can realise Him only by acting according to divine pleasure when the grace of God will descend on him. He is to be worshipped by meditation on His greatness but not by outward forms or by images. Nanak and the Gurus set themselves definitely against image worship.

Surrender to the will of God should be the only ideal of man in life. All his activities should be directed towards the discovering of God's will.

How shall man become true before God? How shall the veil of
falsehood be rent?
By walking, O Nanak, according to the will of the Commander
as pre-ordained.

Again :

Without God's grace she obtaineth nothing, howsoever she may strive,
Go and ask the happy wives by what means they obtained their Spouse.
"Whatever He doeth accept as good : have done with cleverness and orders.
Apply thy mind to the worship of His feet by whose love what is
most desired is obtained
Do whatever the Bridegroom biddeth thee, give Him thy body and soul :
such perfumes apply"
Thus speak the happy wives, by these means the Spouse is obtained.
Efface thyself, so shalt thou obtain the Bridegroom, what other art is there?

*The Sanskrit *sh* becomes *kh* in Gurumukhi. Thus *Rishi* is written and pronounced *Rikhi.*

Again :

He to whom the Lord is compassionate and merciful will do the
Master's work.
That worshipper whom God causeth to abide by His order will
worship Him.
By obeying His order man is acceptable and shall then reach his
Master's court.
He shall act as pleaseth his master and obtain the fruit his heart desireth.

Unquestioning submission to God's will is the way to perfection and salvation. The only way of understanding the will of God and of deserving the Divine grace is by good acts. This is the central teaching of Nanak. Unless a man conducts himself according to the paths of righteousness he will not attain salvation howsoever much be his faith and whatever outward formularies he may perform. Good conduct together with humility and love of God alone can give a man *moksha* (salvation).

The bar-maid is misery, wine is lust, man is the drinker
The cup filled with worldly love is wrath, and it is served by pride
The company is false and covetous, ruined by excess of drink
Make thou, instead, good conduct thy yeast, truth thy molasses
God's name thy wine
Make merit thy cakes, good conduct thy clarified butter and modesty
thy meal to eat.
Such, O Nanak, are obtained by the Guru's favour; by partaking of
them sins depart.
Even though a man go barefooted he must still suffer for his own acts
There is no devotion without virtue. Good conduct alone is the test.

Again :

Make thy mind the ploughman, good acts thy cultivation,
Modesty thy irrigation and water
And thy body the field to till.

Thus all through the hymns this idea of right action and conduct comes back as the true principle taught by the Guru, whereby alone salvation can be obtained.

Nanak never accepted the differences of caste, though being a religious teacher and not a lawgiver he laid down no rules, Said he :

Caste has no power in the next world, where there is a new order of being. They whose accounts (actions in this world) are honoured are the good.

Again :

Nanak is with those who are low born, among the lowly, nay among the lowest of the low.

He refused the *upanayana* ceremony and declared that the only sacred thread worth wearing was that which was made of the cotton of mercy with contentment as its thread and continence its knots, which would make a *janeu* for the soul. By adoring and praising the Name, honour and a true thread are obtained.

The Guru converted men irrespective of creed or caste and his chief *chela*, Mardana, was a Musalman. But it is interesting to note that, while the Guru disapproved of the false divisions of caste based on heredity and not on conduct, he did not declare himself against social divisions. When Mardana died the Guru declared with reference to the ceremony of his burial that "since he knew God he was a Brahmin". Nevertheless Caste continued, and to some extent still continues, to exist in Sikhism.

The religious, social and political ideals of Sikhism as founded by Guru Nanak underwent a profound change under his successors. The religion of Nanak was a mystic quietism believing in one God who was to be known by devotion and pleased by good works and humility. And the Guru was tolerant alike of Hindus and Muslims. But gradually they developed a social polity and, by the time of Govind Singh, the Sikhs became an organised commonwealth having a definite political out-look.

The later Gurus were more statesmen than religious teachers, and except for Govind Singh, who combined in himself, like

Muhammad, the gifts of a prophet with those of a prince and legislator, they were not the originators of a conscious policy.

Govind Singh following the tradition set by Har Govind changed the quietism of Nanak into an aggressive faith. While Nanak had taught : "fight with no weapon save the word of God, a holy teacher hath no means save the purity of his doctrine," Govind Singh insisted that every member of his commonwealth should bear *kirpan* and call himself Singh or lion. He gave to war great dignity as a profession and declared that those who died on the battlefield would attain glory and heaven. The very fact that he included Devi Máhátmya in the Granth Sahib shows that the pious and mystic sect of Nanak had been transformed beyond recognition.

The administration of the *Pahul* (Sikh baptism), the insistence on outward symbols, the origination of the idea of the Khalsa in the whole body of which the spirit of the Guru was to reside after him,—these, and not the teachings of Nanak, tended to keep the Sikhs from merging themselves within the generous expanse of Hinduism.

Govind Singh cut off all connexion with the dissenters and from that time all approximation to Hinduism has been successfully resisted by his puritan followers who from time to time arose to restore the Khalsa to its exclusiveness.

SIKSHA-SATRA,

A Home School for Orphans.

By L. K. Elmhirst.

The Sikshá-Satra is the natural outcome of some years of educational experiment at Santiniketan and of two years experience at the Institute of Rural Reconstruction at Sriniketan. The principles upon which it is based are little more than common sense deductions from the failures and successes of the past.

It is in their simplicity, in their capacity to grow, and in a certain native frankness that the charm of children chiefly lies. Untrammelled by tradition, driven forward by inherent instinct, they carry on their own research in the field of life, gathering knowledge from experience with an abounding joy that is rarely exceeded later.

With the young of domestic animals we notice in its simplest form this care-free exuberance, this capacity to treat life as a perpetual game and the world as a fairy make-believe, in which, for the kitten everything that moves is a potential mouse, and for the puppy no household article comes amiss so long as in the softness of its nature it may represent some rat to be worried. There exists apparently some driving force within, impelling growth along certain lines, yet ever seeking to direct the arduous gathering of experience towards self-preservation, with an overflow of life-energy in what seems to the adult to be the reckless joy-ride of youth.

With the growing tree, too, there is the same kind of exuberance in the joyful pushing upward of the young shoot. Such is the whirl of life packed within the tip of this first tender outgrowth, that cell is added to cell with an amazing rapidity whilst the food supply that has been packed away in the mother seed remains unexhausted. Even when this supply is gone, the growing point still finds its own natural way up and out into the open air, and woe be to the tree of the future if some accident befalls and damage is done to that first shoot. Other branches

may develope and try to replace the lead that has gone, but some driving force, some urgent desire to seek for life and growth will have gone too.

There is something of this same quality in the human child, and in the same way it is not difficult to inflict upon the child, as on the young tree, or upon the young animal, permanent damage by means of unnatural repression. The playtime of young life is not an unmeaning thing. It is intimately associated with the demands of a strenuous future, even though for the time being some of the worries of self-preservation may be borne by the parent.

We are too apt to forget this with our children. We prefer to provide them with a children's toy-world, lacking the imagination to remember that, even if it was make-believe, it was always a grown-up world that we chiefly craved as the plaything of our early days. To dig our own cave in the earth, where we could creep out of sight, much to the disgust of the matter-of-fact gardener, to chop sticks with a real axe, to be given a pair of boots to polish, a fire to light, or some dough to knead and bake —these were ever our keenest joys; yet only too often had we to be content with toy bricks, toy houses, toy tools or toy kitchens; or, if serious work was provided, it was in the nature of sweated labour, which fatigued without giving play to our creative instincts.

The aim, then, of the Sikshá-Satra is, through experience in dealing with this overflowing abundance of child life, its charm and its simplicity, to provide the utmost liberty within surroundings that are filled with creative possibilities, with opportunities for the joy of play that is work,—the work of exploration; and of work that is play,—the reaping of a succession of novel experiences; to give the child that freedom of growth which the young tree demands for its tender shoot, that field for self-expansion in which all young life finds both training and happiness.

It is between the ages of six and twelve that the growing child is most absorbed in gathering impressions through sight, smell, hearing and taste but more especially through touch and the use of the hands. From the start, therefore, the child enters

the Sikshá-Satra as an apprentice in handicraft as well as housecraft. In the workshop, as a trained producer and as a potential creator, it will acquire skill and win freedom for its hands; whilst as an inmate of the house, which it helps to construct and furnish and maintain, it will gain expanse of spirit and win freedom as a citizen of the small community.

Only after it has stored up a certain amount of experience in these different fields, will the child begin to feel a need for their co-ordination, and therefore for the time to record, to relate, to dramatise and to synthesise the discoveries of the senses. Until the child has had intimate touch with the facts and demands of life, it is surely unfair to demand long hours of concentrated attention upon second-hand facts and figures wholly unconnected with anything it has hitherto encountered and taken note of in real Life.

There is a certain Farm School in the Philippine Islands where some three hundred boys own and work their own little holdings, build their own cottages, keep their own accounts, run their own municipality, tend their own livestock, and pocket their own profits. "All of our classroom work is in the nature of round-table discussions of stored-up experience, except the teaching of English," said the principal; "and because we are using a standardised course wholly unrelated with their own life, their English classes are lifeless too, and I cannot arouse interest in them."

Under the term housecraft, at the Sikshá-Satra, the following functions will be treated as of primary educational importance :—

Care and cleaning and construction of Quarters.
Care and proper use of latrines; sanitary disposal of waste
Cooking and serving of food; Clothes washing and repair.
Personal hygiene and healthy habits.
Individual self-discipline; group self-government.
Policing and hospitality; Fire drill and control.

In everyone of these, there is some art to be mastered, some business or organising capacity to be developed, some law of science to be recognised, and in all of them there is a call for the recognition of the need for individual self-preservation as well

as of the duties, responsibilities and privileges of family membership and citizenship.

Much of what is termed housecraft is in the nature of handicraft, but, from the earliest years, it is well to introduce to the children some special craft, easily grasped by small hands, which is of definite economic value. The product should be of real use in the home, or have a ready sale outside, and thus enable the child to realise his capacity for self-preservation through the trained experience of his hands.

Any of the following can easily be mastered in a few weeks :

Cotton wick, tape and band making; Scarf weaving and belt making; Cotton rug and durree making (the looms can easily be made by the children themselves, out of bamboo).

Straw-sandal making. Straw-mat and mattress making.

Sewing; Paper making; Ink making.

Dyeing with simple vegetable dyes; Cotton and calico printing with wood blocks.

Making sun-dried mud bricks.

For elder boys and girls the following are suitable :

Wool work, shearing, washing, carding, dyeing and coarse blanket weaving. Knitting, darning.

Pottery; Carpentry and carving Smithy and tool making.

Building with sun-dried bricks; Rush and mud construction, bamboo construction; Thatching.

Tailoring and use of sewing machine.

Watch and Clock repair.

Cycle cleaning and repair.

Block making, typesetting, printing, typing and duplicating.

Musical instrument making (Drums, flutes, one stringed instruments).

Food preparation; Wheat and grain grinding; Oil extraction; Sap extraction; Soap making.

In the carrying out of everyone of these crafts, again, some art, some science some element of business enters in. Anyone of these crafts may offer an avenue of approach to the ultimate high road of self preservation and to self-confidence in his or her own capacity to achieve economic stability in the future. With-

cut such feeling of confidence in the power to face the fight for livelihood through the skill of trained fingers and hands, it is impossible to achieve that freedom of spirit upon which the fullest enjoyment of life is dependant.

There are few of the crafts mentioned above which are not in some way intimately bound up with the life of the country-folk. With each of them there is a grammer of procedure which has to be learnt, but it is a grammer which is not detached from life and which has to be learnt at the beginning by trial and error and the bitternes of failure. There are always dry bones of some kind behind the finished product of any skilled craft; and so often, especially in the class-room, is the original product forgotten together with the atmosphere which gave rise to it, and only these dry bones left.

Of all workshops the one provided by nature herself is the most commodious and helpful. Under skilled stimulation and guidance there is out-of-doors an unlimited field for experiencing and for experimenting with life. The schoolmaster here is an anachronism. He can no longer tower over his pupils from his rostrum and threaten them with his power to grant or withhold marks and certificates. He is forced to adopt his rightful place behind the student, ever on the watch, ever ready with a word of advice or encouragement, ever ready to be a student himself, but never in the way. Nature herself is the best schoolmaster and rewards the student according to his capacity and powers of observation. The teacher fails here when his student fails, and can no longer lay the failure of his pupil at the door of some inherent incapacity.

The following out-door crafts can be learnt and practised by small children, and yet be of economic benefit and have their intimate contact with life, their definite utility to the family or group:

Poultry keeping, and chicken rearing for egg-production.
Care of fuel and water supply.
Seed-bed preparation, manuring, and planting.
Cultivation of flowers and vegetables.
Drainage and Irrigation; Wood-cutting and Jungle clearing.

As the capacity of the child grows and his experience enlarges, there will come at a later stage a natural demand for that grammar of his art upon which depends more accurate observation, more precise inference, more fruitful knowledge, as well as a desire for communion with fellow-workers in the same field whose experiences and thoughts, whose struggls and successes are stored up in books,—not in such case task-books to drudge over, but helpmates and friends carrying them out into newer and wider fields of human knowledge.

Already the Indian village boy is accustomed to take his part in the duties and privileges of family life, the herding of the cows, the watering and feeding of them. The inclusion of a small garden within his home compound, properly supervised, provides an ample basis for the widest and best form of education by experience. So in the Sikshá-Satra it is the individual plot of ground which will be for both boys and girls the basis of much of their reading, of their writing and of most of their arithmetic.

From the first the child should feel that this plot is playground as well as experimental farm, where it will try its own experiments as well as carry out the planting, tending and harvesting of some definitely profitable crop. Under such a system, text books, class-room and formal laboratory go by the board. There remain the garden plot, the potting shed, and the workshop. Records are kept and reports and accounts written up, revised and corrected, giving scope for *literary training* in its most interesting form. *Geology* becomes the study of the fertility of the plot; *chemistry* the use of lime and manures of all kinds, of sprays and disinfectants; *physics* the use of tools, of pumps, the study of water-lifts and oil-engines; *entomology* the control of plant pests (ants, caterpillars, beetles) and diseases (leaf curl, wilt and bacterial attacks); *ornithology* the study of birds in their relation first to the garden plot and then to the world in general.

There is no room in the Sikshá-Satra for Nature-Study as an abstract subject, divorced from life and the needs of life by boards of education which sit in cities and recommend questionnaires and examinations to suit their prescribed text books, with rewards to suit the examination results. In life the

child has to face the mosquito nightly, perhaps the bug, or the flea, the bacteria of typhoid, of cholera and small-pox, as well as the forces of nature which attack his trees, his plants and his live stock. Nature study is thus transformed into the study of Nature in relation to life and the daily experiences of life.

Almost unwittingly we have wandered into the field of human service and of citizenship, with its privileges and its responsibility for human welfare. By a little practical training and experience seventy-five per cent. of the ill-health of rural India could be eliminated within a few months through the activity of the children. Such is their willingness to absorb by experience, to experiment and to learn from hard facts, that the children become the natural and immediate agents in the education of the adults, who by the very responsibilities of their position as bread-winners or house-workers are precluded from launching out into a world of adventure in experiment and who have in all probability lost, through years of struggle and drudgery, that initial equipment without which experiment is impossible,—a fruitful imagination.

It is in fact, through the children in our own neighbourhood, that new life and hope have flooded the villages, which had been lost for two generations past in a slough of despair. We left the village pundit to carry on his drilling in the three Rs, the pupils chained to unnatural benches, and at the mercy of his jailor's arm. They needed first aid, and with that we gained the trust of the parents : the boys revelled with us in our simple games and thus their own devotion was won.

Out of the fruitless attempt of the unorganised adults to stem a village fire, came the training of the boys as a Fire Brigade and with it drill, discipline, and a sense of the utility of immediate obedience to a leader in case of emergency. Ninety per cent. of the village was attacked with malaria, but through this need of life came the mapping of the village, its tanks, its dwellings, its pits and its drains, and then the digging of water channels,—geography in fact with a vengeance. Not chemistry, not zoology, not bacteriology, not physiology,—but the study of anopheles, the kerosining of tanks, the disinfection of wells, the registration of fever cases and the keeping of health records.

There was a local fair to be policed without cost, and our boys, many of them not more than children, took over the responsibility. There were latrines to be dug and visited regularly, carts to be parked, the water reservoir to be guarded and the whole area to be cleaned up every morning. There were calls for first aid, for sympathy and kindliness, for observation and watchfulness, and in the supervisor for perpetual attention, for a keeping himself in the background, for stimulation and encouragement. Out of this grew a movement of the young men in the neighobourhood to take over the responsibility for the watch and ward of their own village, so that funds might be obtained for more and more ambitious experiments in the realms of health, educationand civic enterprise.

Lack of fresh vegetables and the insanitary wastage of manure, opened the way for home gardening and the initiation of small garden plots within the home courtyard. Attempts to introduce new crops among the adults had failed because only the worst farmers, who could not succeed anyhow, toyed with the novelties held out to them, whilst the best farmers waited to watch the results. On the other hand, if the boys failed, the parents did not take it seriously because, after all, they were boys. If they succeeded there was a tendency to follow their example. Through such avenues a road to new health, new life, and a new freedom has been opened, and this by the children themselves.

From the workshop to the garden, from the garden to the field and the farm, and from the farm into the neighbourhood, and so through the Excursion, the Pilgrimage and the Camping Trip, out into the wider field of life. Here for instance, within but two miles of us, are all kinds of activities going on, intimately related to our daily existence, which we tend to take for granted and therefore to leave out of our educational programme :

The Post Office and Telegraph system.
The Police Station, and local Gaol.
The Law Court, and Local Dispensary.
The Station and Goods Yard.
The Rice and Oil Mills.

The Brick Yard.
The Smithy and Wheelwright.
The Carpentry and Timber-yard.
The Potter the Copper-smith and the Brass-smith.
The Home Weaving Industry.
The Watch-maker and Jeweller.
The Shoemaker and the Tailor.

In each of these there is an art, a science and some element of business. There are tools to be mastered and men to be handled. Each calling opens up a wide horizon for the stimulation of the imagination, for emulation in embryo, for composition and dramatisation and even for more serious apprenticeship in the future. It is only through familiarity and experiment with the existing methods of policing, punishment and discipline, that we are ever going to find some simple path out of the existing maze of law, chained as it is to outworn tradition and precedent, and the Home-School is the proper and natural place for such experiments to be carried out under careful guidance and stimulation.

To try and build up an institution for its own sake only results in cutting off the children from life. If education means anything it must surely include the provision of means for experiencing every phase of adult life in embryo form. The school must be a laboratory not merely for absorbing knowledge, or for producing sheltered hot-house growth, but for giving out, for adventure into the realm of practical economics and self-preservation, of self-discipline and self-government, of self-expression in the world of spiritual abstraction and human welfare.

To omit this function of neighbourly service is to deprive the child of one of the greatest privileges of the home, where certain service is taken or granted, and already too many schools exist for the depriving of children of the privilege of helping themselves or their fellows and for the encouragement of an unnatural spirit of competition. It is in fact, just out of such self-centred institutions, concerned primarily with their own success in scholarship or games, their own wealth in numbers of students or size of buildings, and run in competition with neighbouring institutions burdened with similar obsessions, that arises

that ~~spirit of sectarianism, of similar obsessions, that arises that~~ spirit of sectarianism, of nationalism, of selfish individualism and self-assertion which produces in the world the most insidious form of dissension and spiritual blindness.

The Home School, through its extension side, is brought instantly into touch with life. Meteorology becomes the study of the weather in its relation to crop production, and history the examination of date collected in the neighbourhood concerning local industries and crafts, customs and religious expression, traditions of music and drama, but especially concerning forms of social organisation and of that co-operative enterprise which is so slow of growth and yet so significant for progress in the future. Only on such a basis is it likely that a Renaissance of the country-side will come, not at the expense of the past, but firmly based upon all the wealth of previous experience and in association for a common end.

Once kindle the dry relics of the past, rapidly disintegrating today under the influence of new forces and agencies which have caught this ancient civilisation unawares ; once fire the enthusiasm, the will-to-experiment of youth, and the new day will dawn.

So much of our education in the past has disregarded the fundamental law of nature, the cycle of life. Where nature is ever shortening the weaning time of the developing organism, we insist upon extending it indefinitely, through school-days and college. From the moment the mother-supply, in seed or egg, is exhausted, down must go the roots, searching and experimenting, up must go the young stalk and spread its leaves into the sky, or the young chick venture out alone in search of its own food. From the first also, in nature, there is a giving up, a pouring out, in preparation for the time when the organism will devote its whole energy to some great act of self-sacrifice, some service on behalf of its own kind, the result of which may bear no direct benefit to itself.

We do not claim that the Home School should be self-supporting from the start. That would be a desecration of Nature's own law. But this is no reason for depriving the child of the privilege of working for his own self-support, so far as his ability allows, taking into full acount his need for physical,

mental and moral growth and enjoyment. So long as the motto of the Home School is "Freedom for Growth", there need be no fear that the powers of the children will be overtaxed.

Freedom for growth, experiment, enterprise and adventure, all are dependant upon Imagination, that greatest of gifts, that function of the mind upon which all progress depends. To release the Imagination, to give it wings, to "open wide the mind's caged door," this is the most vital service that it is in the power of one human being to render to another, and one to which the Superintendent of the Sikshá-Satra must pay constant and undivided attention. It is this gift of imaginative power which distinguishes man so markedly from the eating, preying, procreating animal, and which like the lamp of Aladdin endows him with the power to create a new world for himself after his own fashion.

Of all conflicts in the field of education, that between Imagination and Discipline is the most bitter and prolonged. On the one side stands the child, relieved so often of all responsibility for his own self-preservation, of the worries that accompany the winning of a livelihood, craving the fullest freedom to satisfy the fertile imaginings of his brain, imaginings which like tender plants can so easily be crushed and mutilated, revolting against the bonds of what seems so often an unreasoned discipline, and on the whole much preferring the rule of a simple anarchy, which means no rule at all. On the other side stand the parent and schoolmaster,—practical people of the world, with full experience of its toil and hardship, lovers of law and order, of routine and the common place, because they represent the known in the struggle for life, their imagination long ago crushed out in the struggle for practical ends,—determined to save the child all trouble of experiencing for himself.

If a child is to have freedom for growth it must have freedom to regulate its own life, freedom from interference and supervision; but such sheer anarchy may lead to a licence of growth which may endanger the whole structure. Of all problems, then, this one of finding the minimum of discipline that is necessary for the preservation of the maximum of liberty is the most difficult. To encourage the children to set their own

bounds and to reason out their own discipline needs a real faith in their capacity and a real courage,—the courage to stand by and watch mistakes being made without constantly interfering to set everything right.

There is unquestionably a legitimate field for the setting up of rules. Certain functions, included under the heading of housecraft, and intimately related with the task of self-preservation, have to be performed by every citizen every day. Upon their proper performance depends the well-being of the individual as well as that of the group. They include, cooking, eating, washing-up, bathing, sweeping,—in a word the general care of the body and the dwelling. Until the body is free it is hard for the mind to soar, and thus the body itself is a serious obstacle to anarchy of an extreme kind. Each of these duties, with the help of strict discipline, can be performed in a rapid and efficient manner, thereby adding to the hours of freedom. Children have sufficient common sense to recognise the need for such discipline and can make their own rules prescribing penalties for breaches of it.

On the other hand the ideal behind the running of the workshop must be one of freedom from super-imposed restriction, for craftmanship has its own standards of excellence, and supplies its own discipline. Provided that the endeavour is intimately related to life,—whether co-operative, as it often will be, or merely individual,—the fullest satisfaction can only be gained in the most perfect manifestation of the capacity to create. The boys' own self-respect in the first instance, followed up by the opinion of the group, both flavoured by a spice of market value,—all these in their own way will provide sufficient discipline.

How often do we stifle the child's imagination for fear that he will never grow up a practical man. Like the brethren of Joseph we have an inborn dislike for brilliant dreamers, who upset the even course of our conventional existence. Yet it is just to the men of imagination that we owe our progress in discovery,—to those who, while recognising the necessary grammar, were willing to leap out into the dark of the unknown, to dream and to imagine new worlds of their own creation. Steering by the light of an anarchic discontent, man has

explored and is still exploring every sea of human knowledge, driven forward by the breezes of his fertile imagination. But with the child we insist that he shall not start out on his voyage until he has learnt off by heart the chart we have drawn for him out of our own experience whilst his little ship of life, anchored within the school-room, wallows in the untroubled calm of the conventional, the artificial and the unimaginative.

It is only through the fullest development of all his capacities that man is likely to achieve his real freedom. He must be so equipped as no longer to be anxious about his own self-preservation; only through his capacity to understand and to sympathise with his neighbour can he function as a decent member of human society and as a responsible citizen. In the course of the slow growth of the spirit of detachment he will also eventually succeed in finding a natural outlet for his inborn capacity for creative expression in that world of abstraction which is also the world of spiritual truth. To have discovered the best means of self-expression as an individual, as a citizen and as a creative agent, and to experience daily the delights and the difficulties of perpetual growth,—this is true freedom.

Any scheme, then, which fails to present to the child the opportunity to make these discoveries for itself, is seriously at fault. Education is sometimes called a tool and is thought of as a factory process. Much of it is perhaps so, and the raw material, the child, is caught and moulded into the desired product as with a machine. But education implies growth and therefore life, and school-time should be a phase of life where the child begins to achieve freedom through experience. By taking it for granted that a child can be taught freedom we deny it life.

There is a world beyond the walls both of home and work-shop, outside even the ken of Nature, which can be entirely a man's own, where anarchy is supreme. This is the world of abstraction and of emotion. Having attained self-confidence as to his power to subsist by the labour of his hands, and thus to survive within the human family, both adult and child are free to pass into this other region where there is no grammar except that which the adventurer makes for his own convenience, nor any rules or regulations.

There are very few children to whom this realm of abstraction and emotional expression, this world of the spirit, this kingdom of creative enterprise for its own sake apart from economic or ulterior motive, is not a very real thing indeed. We may stimulate, we may encourage and sympathise, we may provide the means and the opportunity, but if we are honest in our desire to give the child freedom to grow we shall be very careful not to superimpose our own rules, creeds and regulations. The spirit of childhood, like its gift of imagination, bloweth where it listeth, and like the wind it comes and goes, and knows no man-made law. To be real it must be spontaneous. Complete freedom then the child must have, to adventure in the realm of song, of music, of poetry if it wishes, of drama and dance, to revel in the expression of ideas through colour, line or form, or to wander on the limitless horizon of solitary thought and meditation, in touch with the still small voice within.

To imagine that we can teach the child religion is as reasonable as to think that we can teach an orchid to grow and produce flowers to our taste. A suitable soil we can give, some stimulating fertiliser, some source of moisture and a temperature properly adjusted so that Nature may take her own course. But the law of life is growth, and a recognition of all the principles of growth is essential before we can decide what is good for the plant. To try and compel growth, to infuse life from outside, that is the way to bind and destroy.

Life, to be life at all, has to be lived; and the parents' or professors' sins of repression and deprivation, of rod and iron-bound rule, are visited upon the children unto the third and fourth generation, and may yet lead civilisation to its doom.

THE RELATION BETWEEN ART AND RELIGION IN INDIA.

By Prof. Radhakamal Mukherjī.

The orderly procession of the stars in the heavens, the succession of the seasons and of light and darkness, the cycle of nature's process of growth, decay and rejuvenation, the ebb and flow of the tides, the rhythmical beating of the heart, the periodic fluctuation of sexual life, all these make man peculiarly susceptible to a sense of order and symmetry. Art arises from a consciousness of this attitude. It expresses itself, through a pleasure in forms, colouds and sounds and their harmonies and contrasts, in personal decoration, in architecture, painting and sculpture, in song and dance and poetry.

The purest and most typical expression of simple feeling is that which consists of random movements. Hirn says that when these motions assume, as they so easily do, the character of a fixed sequence in time, *i.e.*, when they become rhythmical, they can be and inevitably are, as by a sort of inner compulsion, imitated by the on-lookers. In primitive times the gregariousness of man, under the excitement of periodical feasts, thus usually found expression in rhythmic beating, choral music and dance.

Art had its origin in the choral dance under the mental exaltation of such circumstances and was a powerful social binder. Under the influence of the memories and the emotions which these dances stimulate the primitive group achieves a sense of corporate unity, which makes corporate action emerge out of the fixed routine of ordinary life. The dance gave form at once to the religious ritual and to the art of the primitive peoples. It united them by the power of suggestion, both in offence and mutual defence; and it was in the dance that they prepared for battle and celebrated their victories. Even now poetry, song and music inspire the nations to fight one another.

With peaceful cultured peoples art addresses itself to the task of finding order and symmetry in all activities of life. It raises

work to the expression of happy and noble ideals in forms of wrought metal or carven wood or moulded clay, in images or in low reliefs, in wall paintings or embroidered fabrics. It brings the sexes together and enlivens domestic life. It makes love enduring by borrowing from nature and the sentient life around patterns of everlasting union. It is the mother of social etiquette and good form which lend grace and dignity to human intercourse. It blossoms out into rituals and observances which become fraught with deep inspiring meanings for human life and destiny. It allies itself with religion and, assisted by imagination, creates a language of symbols and a wealth of conventional motifs, borrowed from the ordinary sights and sounds of every day life, which easily express the eternal verities, the profoundest mysteries in simple, familiar garb.

Local styles may vary, the modes and ideals of composition of art may differ among different peoples, but they all seek to express the one great apprehension of all art, the grand principle of harmony, that the *one* is in the *many*, and that the *many* is in the *one*.

Thus, though Muhammadan art is on the whole realistic and secular in subject, and untouched by the spiritual emotion which inspires the art of Buddhist and Hindu, nevertheless, even in the calculating Muhammadan mind, there is the joy of filling empty space with regular geometrical designs in a veritable maze of patterns which express the *many*. But the *many* is also the *one* and this is expressed in Muhammadan architecture by the striving of the numberless crowded geometrical devices to reach in the aggregate, in perspective ascending higher and higher round a dome within which prayers are offered, the infinite itself.

The Hindu mind, more deeply responsive to nature, more profoundly touched by a sense of repose in the midst of the bewildering flux of things, speaks in a language of symbols which tell a different story. The auspicious plant and flower forms which the rustic house-wife draws in front of the threshold, the bunches of grain and mango-leaves tied in beautiful symbolism to the lintel; the lamp beneath the *tulsi* plant; the water vase over which is hung the graceful plantain-branch : all these convey

a symbolic meanings a sense of deeper values, to every Indian heart.

This symbolism is, however, best expressed in the numerous myths and images which are living realities in the Indian heart, expressions of a profound realisation of Life. Such creations represent the soul of India. Several compositional types may be distinguished which represent some of the most significant and exhaustive experiences of the reality.

One is represented by Krishna clasping his beloved in a rythmic self-abandon. Krishna's figure is in the *tribhanga* posture. Here the objective of art is the vision of the Infinite dancing with the Finite, and the joy of this mystic sportiveness is expressed in a swinging movement both in the vertical and horizontal plane, the counterpart of the mystic strains of the flute which Krishna holds. Such an image is well-known in every house and temple, even in markets and village council-halls. Its appeal is universal.

Another striking Hindu form is that of Siva dancing the dance of death and of life. The figures of the dance are perfected within a vertical circle, surrounded by a halo of fire. It is the expression of life's energy, frolicsome in its infinite destructions, but nevertheless cyclical and timeless in its unchanging completeness.

Another popular figure is that of the Goddess seated on the lion and slaying the demon. The fury of destruction is expressed in the slope of her angry posture, while the helplessness of evil is visualised in the deviation from the straight strong outline.

These last two are the expressions of the conquest of the spirit over brute matter, an event of events which the Indian artist has celebrated in many forms. In the former case, in the figure of the dancing Siva, the action or motion is complete, so that there is established the tranquil repose of an all-engulfing unity. In the latter, the movement continues, and there persists the unsubdued excitement of an incomplete achievement. The process of evolution from the flesh to the spirit is yet proceeding and the unknown sculptor, who makes these images to-day in the cottages of Bengal, still infuses into the limbs of the goddess a vigour which is the outcome of an age-long tradition, the race

expression of the inevitable urge of life that has not as yet found its equilibrium.

Contrasted with this are the inner experience and artistic method which have carved the massive form of the sleeping Vishnu in the South Indian temples. In front of the god the beholder stands simply awe-struck, overpowered by volume. Vishnu is in perfect rest on the waters of eternity. The thousand-hooded snake broods over his sleep. All this is on such a vast scale that space seems conquered. The surrounding impenetrable darkness also suggests a fathomless depth, so that the intellect loses itself and is driven towards the unknown.

In the South, moreover, the city itself resembles the body of Vishnu or Garuda with limbs outstretched, or it is planned after the sacred lotus. In the lotus plan, the city has four gates in four directions, and roads and parks in radiating rows like the petals of the flower. This plan is applied also to the internal arrangements of a temple, which is thus the city in miniature. The temple of Siva is in the *nairit,* (south west) direction where is Yama's abode, and there also is to be found the burning ghat of the city. In the south is Vishnu's temple. The lotus pattern is repeated in the dome of the *Sabha-mandapam,* the seat of the assembly of the village community, while the *sikhara* of Vishnu's temple and the spire of Siva's typify the noble classical conceptions of the mountains of Meru or Kailasa respectively.

As we enter the temple, we have on the walls, right and left, and on the ceiling of the lofty aisles and spacious corridors, illustrations from the Puranas, the epics and other folklore which feed the imagination and satisfy the spirit. Scenes of filial love and service, compassion and pity, heroism and sacrifice, humility and reverence are delineated with an eloquence of ornamental detail and a synthetic apprehension of the whole of life as an everflowing, uninterrupted movement, that are truly remarkable. Through the ceaseless procession of living activity, the beholder is initiated by degrees to images of Life, Death, Eternity and ultimately to the central idea that the whole city or temple seeks to utter—the horizontal expansion allowing thinking space to the brain and the mystic pointing upward satisfying the aspiration of the soul.

The atmosphere of the temple converges into the reliquary proper through dark and ascending stairs and narrowing space. A quiet depth lingers dream-like round the *sanctus sanctorum*. It is there that we find a vast colossal *lingam*, a symbol of the divine creative energy, which rises high as far as the eye can reach in one black solid mass thus expressing the vastness of fathomless space itself, or there is the figure of Vishnu, filling the dark space with its immensity.

There is nothing of emptiness, but all is pervaded by a vast sense of reality. Materially there could be nothing more solid and towering than these figures, but the beholder as he contemplates on them is filled with the serenity and repose, which is of the gods. Sometimes, again, there is nothing in the inner sanctuary, no images or altars, but only a complete, perfect circle, the mystic symbol of the universal, creative formlessness, which supplies the back-ground of every form of external expression.

But it is not the religious creations alone that are endowed with spiritual charm. The Indian artist sees a sacredness in the most common-place objects and expresses passing feelings in terms of the permanent. This is true even of the more recent Rajput and Mughal schools of Indian art which abound in examples of so-called secular themes. There, even in the lowest forms of imitative art, in historical themes and portraiture, the artist has been able to invest his work with a spiritual serenity, so that the personalities depicted therein, in spite of the crowding and restless associations of their lives, seem to be so spiritually remote and detached from the tumult and concern of mundane existence.

Other illustrations are the familiar representations of musical modes in Indian art where one sees the various Ragas wonderfully expressed in terms of colour. Take, for instance, the musical mode *Vrindavani Sarang*. The scene depicted is that of a young woman in a coloured mantle walking through the forest. A thirsty deer stands in her way and craves her sympathy. Across the arid and sparsely wooded landscape, there runs a pure crystal stream. As the symphony spreads over the afternoon sky and reaches the horizon line, one understands the deception of life and

feels the pang and despair of leaving the clear cool stream for the world life which gives no solace to the craving soul.

Such are some of the conceptions which are characteristic of Indian Art and which are yet living traditions in Indian life. Indian art is not abstract but is something living and concrete. It reveals the mass life of man and nature to the individual and is therefore socializing and ethical. It creates in folklore and painting, in myth and poetry, symbols that spring from various forms of social and individual relationships and evoke feelings irrespective of a man's own particular limitations.

In the Indian legends and myths the gods descend to the earth and live the life of the common people. Thus the most familiar activities of everyday life are endowed with sacredness and spiritual charm. The eternal child, Gopal, is the objective of parental devotion and love in every Indian household. Radha and Krishna have attracted to themselves all the passion of romantic love. There is also the Eternal Mother and the Indian learns by tradition to look upon every woman in her image. These eternal relationships live by oral tradition and are recreated in art, and thereupon bind man to his fellows in vital, indissoluble bonds.

Thus is developed a sense of the value and responsibility of life, which inspires a loving humility and sacrifice and a profound sympathy for those who are the victims of fate or misfortune.

DIVINE DARK.

Put out the lamps and let their light
Dwindle to its last feeble spark;
It is the hour of inward night
And all within my soul is dark.

Lo, now I fain would be alone
Until this fiery darkness ends,
For of a sudden I have grown
Beyond the need of kindly friends.

Veiled by the little lights of earth
Your idle mocking laughter runs,
But know my inward night is worth
A million of your glittering suns!

Harindranath Chattopadhyaya.

YEATS THE NOBEL PRIZEMAN AND HIS POETRY.

By JAMES H. COUSINS, D.LIT.

[The 1923 award of the Nobel Prize for literature of an idealistic tendency to W. B. Yeats has brought into world prominence the poet who has long occupied a place in many minds as one of the immortals of song. In India he is known not only for his own work, but also for his introduction of Rabindranath Tagore's poetry to the western world. We are permitted to reprint the following short study of Mr. Yeat's works from Dr. Cousin's book "New Ways in English Literature."]

The existence in Ireland, from some time past, of a marked outburst of creative literary activity in the English tongue has become a matter of common knowledge and common joy amongst those who follow the movements of the Spirit towards the regeneration of humanity through the sensitive instruments of the arts. At the head of the modern Irish literary revival, by universal consent, stands the poet, William Butler Yeats.

To understand his position in the long and brilliant hierarchy of bards of the Western Celts, it is necessary to remember that while to Yeats was given the office of restoring to Irish poetry the joy of the artist and craftsman, which was characteristic of the work of the bardic order many centuries before, the actual headwaters of the subsequent stream of modern Irish poetry were somewhat further back. Mr. Yeats has himself indicated them in his lines "To Ireland in the Coming Times".

> Know that I would accounted be
> True brother of that company
> Who sang, to sweeten Ireland's wrong,
> Ballad and story, *rann* and song.

* * *

Nor may I less be counted one
With Davis, Mangan, Ferguson,
Because, to him who ponders well,
My rhymes more than their rhymings tell
Of the dim wisdoms old and deep
That God gives unto man in sleep.

For seven centuries the genius of the Irish race, under the domination of an alien polity with which it had no spiritual affinity, had maintained a struggle for freedom in the things of the outer life, and flamed at last, in the movement led by Davis, into an emotion whose natural voice was the impassioned lyric. The death of Davis marked roughly the beginning of the era of parliamentary tactics; the stirring adventure of frank revolt gave place to the furtive astuteness of the politician; and the poets took the turning at the cross-roads towards re-creating the veritable Ireland, while the politicians wandered into the slums of party intrigue. It was during this era that Sir Samuel Ferguson pursued his studies in Irish archæology, and pointed the way for the re-creation of the ancient Irish world in poetry.

Ferguson saw the passing of the era of the political ballad, and hailed the coming of the new school of artists in poetry. His own work, with its curious blend of archæology and song fused by love of his country, became an important factor in the early inspiration of Yeats; but the main operation of what the *Gita* calls the "qualities of nature," in calling out the genius of Yeats, came through the historical circumstances that drove Davis to revolt in political ballads, though the circumstances, carried forward forty years, drove Yeats to revolt also against the political ballad itself.

The herald of conflict appeared once more, not with the thunderings of social upheaval, not with the lightnings of inexpressible emotion, but with the calm and assurance of a self-realized spirit whose finger is on the secret of the power that makes and unmakes universes.

Claiming for himself the fullest freedom of spirit, Yeats voiced the genius of revolt, but with a deeper, subtler power.

He spoke for the soul of man, and so for Ireland and for the world. He pondered, and laid aside, the popular form of poetry of half a century before; but the method which he ultimately perfected was the sublimation of the technique of the bardic schools of Ireland before the Norman conquest, with its eye for the significance of details in nature (a millenium before Wordsworth brought Nature into English poetry) and its ear for a music within the music; and the thought-stuff which he mixed into the incomparable lyrics of his early period was his ancestral heritage from his Druidical forefathers, with their insight into the laws of the inner life, and their recognition of the fundamental unity of Nature, Humanity and Divinity.

His poem from which I have already quoted his literary ancestry discloses him as occultist in his knowledge of the finer forces and entities of nature, and as mystic in his interpretation of himself and the universe :

> For the elemental beings go
> About my table to and fro.
> In flood and fire, and clay and wind,
> They huddle from man's pondering mind ;
> But he who treads in austere ways
> May surely meet their ancient gaze.
> .....From our birthday until we die
> Is but the winking of an eye ;
> And we, our singing and our love,
> The mariners of night above,
> And all the wizard things that go
> About my table to and fro,
> Are passing on to where may be,
> In Truth's consuming ecstasy,
> No room for love and dream at all,
> For God goes by with white foot-fall.

"The Man who Dreamed of Fairyland" is a beautiful rendering of the first stages of life after death. "The Old Age of Queen Maeve" tells of a Great One speaking through a king in trance.

It is this widening of knowledge and deepening of thought that sent Yeats for beyond the Davis era of Irish poetry. His acquaintance with the founder of the Theosophical movement could not but make a profound impression on one whose natural bent towards the occult was reinforced by the knowledge and tradition of his race. It was quite natural for him to turn up at the foundation meeting of the Dublin Section of the Society for Psychical Research; and in subsequent private investigations, in which I had the privilege of accompanying him, I have observed his immense knowledge of the whole range of theoretical and practical occultism. The fairies to Yeats are no figures of speech, useful to give a verse an Irish flavour, like the harp and shamrock; they are realities, that is, living things of his imagination (whether objective actualities or not makes no matter,) not cold abstractions or conventions. They

> .....the embattled, flaming multitude,
> That rise, wing above wing, flame above flame,
> And like a storm cry the Ineffable name,

stratify his world beneath and above the earth's crust and its ponderable inhabitants; and they, and all they stand for, give a richness and complexity to the background of his thought that demands for its expression something more than a formula or a statement of fact, something organic and vital, something that is one with the universal Creative Energy. It was this necessity that drove the first poets of the dawn into myth, and drove Yeats into "The Wanderings of Unsheen," with which he commenced his career in 1889. "Myth," he once said to me, "is vision in action"; and the supreme end of the poet with vision is either the creation of myth that embodies his idea of the Divine Idea, or the reverent and joyful interpretation of God's Myth, the Universe.

To this august office Yeats has dedicated his life. Like his frugal and intensive contemporary in song, Æ, he tunes his reed to beauty, and not so much to the celebration of beautiful things as to the disclosure of the ideal Beauty from which (as the Platonists and Emerson also declared) beautiful things take

their quality. But while "the Beauty of all beauty" is to Æ self-existent and now, it is to Yeats a process. He sees

> In all poor foolish things that live a day,
> Eternal Beauty wandering on her way,

and he endeavours to make his poetry a way for her feet. So Æ says his say in great little poems that come as near being poetry without language as Scriabine's Prelude in G is near being music without sound; but Yeats is never satisfied, and is always willing to make alterations that may improve his poems. In his plays, this habit of alteration has made many layers of memory in the minds of the actors. I remember glorying in certain lines at the very earliest rehearsals of "The Shadowy Waters", in which I had a small part; but the printed version is to me much the poorer because those lines do not appear.

The whole purpose and method of Yeats are expressed in these two verses :—

> All things uncomely and broken, all things worn and old,
> The cry of a child by the roadway, the creak of a lumbering cart,
> The heavy steps of the ploughman splashing the wintry mould,
> Are wronging your image, that blossoms, a rose in the deeps of my heart.
> The wrong of unshapely things is a wrong too great to be told.
> I hunger to build them anew, and sit on a green knoll apart,
> With the earth and the sky and the water remade, like a casket of gold
> For my dream of your image, that blossoms, a rose in the deeps of my heart.

That is the cry of the artist who is something more than artist only; it is one in spirit with the immortal "shattering" stanza of Omar. It shows the artist, also, deeply concerned with his work; he knows that he can only apprehend and impart

the elusive Beauty by means of his own dream. The birds in the old Irish myth, that hovered about Angus the Young, were white, but they took the colour of whatsoever they lighted upon; and Yeats has spiritual wisdom to know that the white light of ultimate truth must suffer the stain of his own genius, and in his effort to make that stain as fine as the exigencies of his art will permit, he has risen above the limitations of personality, and become in literature the type and supreme expression of his race.

In the qualities by virtue of which he has taken his place in the front rank of singers in the English tongue (an exquisitely delicate music, intense imaginative conviction, intimacy with natural and supernatural manifestations), Yeats is typically Irish. In the elements of intellectual virility, and of composition on the grand scale, (lacking which, he just falls short of absolute greatness, according to Western standards) he is also typically Irish; for we look in vain through the literature of Ireland, Gaelic or Anglo-Irish, for any outstanding expression of that concrete mind whose power of objectivity, whose architectural grasp and appalling patience peopled the mediaeval mind with devils from the Hell of Dante, and strewed Europe with magnificent cathedrals to the man-made and man-like Divinity of a lost revelation.

The genius of Ireland and of Yeats is vagrant and lyrical. In time it may acquire stability, and its earthly twin, solidity and extensiveness; though we may hold the faith that such gain might be at the expense of a quality of much higher spiritual value than mere bulk. To evolve an eternity of noble lines may be a mighty achievement of the mind; to put eternity into a single line, as Yeats has done, is the miracle of the spirit.

AL-JAHIZ AS A RELIGIOUS THINKER.

By Mohammad Bazlur Rehman.

[Amr 'ibn Bahr Al-Jâhiz who died in 869 A.D. (255 A.H.) was a celebrated free-thinker and one of the most voluminous writers of Arabic Literature. For his life see Lucknow University Journal, Vol. II, No. 4.]

In the earlier stages of civilization, religion was of foremost importance among all human institutions and it exercised a tremendous influence in moulding the views and ideas of mankind. It was particularly so among the Muslims; the followers of Muhammad looked at every thing from this point of view and all literary, scientific and political activities centered around it. Among them the individual was more honoured for his knowledge of religion than for his knowledge of anything else. In the history of Islâmic literature we find that the reputation of a thinker or an author depended more on his conception of Islâm and holding fast to the accepted creed than on the originality of his thought or the beauty of his style. Socially and politically his influence in the community was determined by the religious views that he held.

Al-Jâhiz, who contributed to so many different branches of knowledge, received his literary education under the influence of men of letters and culture of Basra, called the *Masjidîyûn,* to whom he refers in the *Kitâbul Bayân wat-Tabyîn.* These were men of different shades of opinion and possessing individual views, who gathered together in mosques and quenched, by holding discussions, that questioning spirit which had been aroused under foreign influence. The information that has come down to us about these theological debates is uncertain, confused and unsatisfactory. Probably, as Prof. Margolionth believes,(1) the fragments of metaphysical discussions in the *Kitâbul Haywân* are fair specimens of what went on in the mosques. These debaters

(1) Early Development of Muhammadanism, p. 227.

were the investigators and systematizers who split points, defined the issues and established principles which later on formed the nucleus of different sects. Having his education is such surroundings, *Al-Jâhiz* acquired that true spirit of enquiry which always leads to magnificent results.

The keen interest in religious matters which he thus imbibed by force of circumstances never forsook him all his life. He was one of the earliest of those thinker's who tried to analyse every point in the light of new discoveries in the realms of science and learning and it is only right that he should be reckoned as a *Mutakallim*, scholastic theologian, of the first order. In his views he attached himself to the M'utazilite sect, the most rational school of thought in Islam and by his life-long studies earned the epithet of *Shaykh-ul-M'utazila*, which he very richly deserved.

Our author started his career as Nazzâm's discipline, but later on, having occasion to examine his master's views in detail, and disagreeing with him in certain points, he founded a school of his own. In spite of the fact that he had the greatest regard and respect for his learned master,(1) Al-Jâhiz criticises him very severely whenever there is a difference of opinion.(2) He took Nazzâm as an authority on all topics and his works abound in quotations from him.

The chief characteristic of all the works and writings of Jâhiz is, that throughout them runs a strain of theological thought that contenances the M'utazilite view; moreover most of his authorities are men of his own school. On this account he has been charged with writing every thing from the M'utazilite stand-point.(3) Undoubtedly he was very loyal to this school, which he extolled over the rest of the Islâmic creeds.(4) But from all this it cannot be concluded that he was too narrow-minded to study other doctrines. Besides the refutations ascribed to him, the information contained in his extant works, which has been so much utilized by Goldziher in his most scholarly books,

(1) Haywán, Vol. VI., p. 106.
(2) Haywán, Vol. II., p. 56.
(3) Shâhrastânî, p. 52.
(4) Haywân, Vol. I., p. 5

shows that Al-Jâhiz had studied these schisms and possessed the knowledge of even their most minute detail.

Al-Jâhiz was alive to the truth that to confine himself to his own narrow circle of beliefs would not make for the proper study of religion which he had made the purpose of his life. Unlike most of the Muslim theologians, he tried to take a peep at the outer world and see how people who were not his co-religionists felt and thought about the matters which were exercising his own mind.

The sister-religions of Judaism and Christianity were perhaps the first to attract his attention and both of these he has refuted in his treatises—*Kitâb ar-Radd 'alal Yahûd* and *Kitâb ar-Radd Alan Nasâra*, the latter of which is extant in part in the British Museum. The *Kitâbul Haywân* also contains some reports of discussions between Muslims, Jews and Christians and these seem to have been conducted in good temper. In the aforesaid work as well as in the *Kitâbul Bayân wah Tabyîn*, we meet with references to Zoroaster and his religion and it is remarkable that Al-Jâhiz was the best informed amongst the earliest Arabic writers on Persian topics.(1) Even the religion of the Hindûs, whose ideas had been but lately introduced to the Muslims, did not escape his notice. In the treatise, the *Kitâbul Asnâm*, which is unfortunately lost to us, he particularly dealt with their notions of worship.(2)

Possessing so varied a knowledge, Al-Jâhiz made himself very conspicuous in his age by his religious views and it is important to examine the part that he played in the province of religion. The difficulty in such a study is that our sources of information are vague and scanty; his biographers content themselves with an encomium, they are prodigal in words and give us little beyond the fact that he was the founder of a sect among the Mutazila.

This dearth of material is one of the results of the orthodox reaction which was so successful in destroying the literature of the so-called heretics. All the authorities that are available to-

(1) Prof. Browne's Literary History of Persia, Vol. I., p. 110.
(2) Haywân, Vol. I., p. 5.

day draw their information about Al-Jâhiz mainly from Al-Kabî(1) who was one of the leading thinkers of the M'utazila. Even Al-Jâhiz's own works do not throw much light on those doctrines which he taught his followers called the Jâhizîyya.

As has already been pointed out, Al-Jâhiz was a M'utazila first, and founder of his own sect afterwards, so naturally he followed in general their system of thought and only disagreed with them in certain details. All the authorities agree that in his views he was too much inclined towards the doctrines of the Tabîyûn, the naturalists. Al-Jâhiz was never a blind follower; he studied natural history for himself and ascertained the truth. His personal observations, combined with the careful study of others who spent their energies in that direction, provide the key-note to those ideas for which he gained so great a reputation even among the most enlightened section of his fellow-thinkers.

So before analysing the principles of Al-Jâhiz it is important to know what these naturalists stood for; and to this end one can not do better than quote from the learned work of Ibnul-Qiftî :(2)

The naturalists were those people who studied the trend and propensity of nature and its effects and manifestations in Creation, vegetable as well as animal. They investigated the peculiarities of plants, physiology of animals, the composition of their parts, the results of their coming together and their different faculties. In consequence of these researches into the Creation of God, who is High and Great, these scholars, calling him the Independent Doer, Maker, Wise and Knowing, hallowed and glorified his name for creating all that exists solely through His own wisdom and for ordaining everything according to His intention and knowledge.

These investigators established that, after reaching a certain limit, which is determined by their reacting dispositions, all animate objects deteriorate, decompose and finally disappear from this world. They thought that this fundamental principle was true in the case of human beings also, and that with the death of the body, the soul likewise perished.

(1) Author of Kitâb al-Munyat wal Amâl fi Sharh Kitabul Milal wan-Nahl, an extract from which pertaining to the Mutazila, was published by Sir I. W. Arnold in 1902.

(2) Ibnul Qifti, p. 50.

As a result of this view they denied the existence of the world to come, the resurrection after death and the life beyond. According to them, prophets, saints and other religious thinkers taught the people about the life beyond simply for the reason that this idea has a sobering influence and deters them from doing evil and disturbing the peace of the community. These very thinkers are the Zindiqs, for the true belivers are those who believe in God, the day of judgment, life after death and all the rest that the scriptures have brought from God, through the prophets.

Such were the thinkers whose views had a great fascination for Al-Jâhiz and on their works, which were mainly based on the Aristotelian philosophy he seized with great avidity. The problem of the eternity of the Qurân and the question of free-will, which distinguished the M'utazilites from their other brethren in faith, were already most prominent. With the study of philosophy new difficulties began to appear, and these were specially concerned with the qualities of God and the Qurânic promise of the beatific vision. These speculations, as McDonald says,(1) were of larger future importance than mere fossilizing intellectualism. It is in respect to the interpretation of these ideas that Al-Jâhiz took his position among the leaders of the different M'utazilite schools.

To start with, the precise nature of faith has always been a great controversy in Islam and the earliest theological sects like the Murjites had this problem for their origin; yet it is strange to find that even up to this day their conclusions are anything but definite. For Muslims the question was of tremendous importance, for they believed that it is the faithful alone who shall be saved from hell-fire. Our author's confession of faith was of the utmost simplicity and in his theory we find an attempt to make theology broad enough to give even the unsettled a chance to remain in the Muslim church and he strongly accuses the theologians for passing the verdict of infidelity on such believers.

According to him, every human being naturally acknowledges the existence of the Creator and recognises the need of an apostle. So if a person holds that Allah is his Lord and that Muhammad

(1) McDonald, Development of Muslim Theology, p. 160.

was His prophet, he is a true Muslim and nothing more should be required of him unless he is really capable of further philosophical reflection. He taught his followers that every true Muslim should believe that God has neither form nor body, but along with this he used to say that if a person could not understand the idea by the light of reason, he should be excused, because for such a one it is enough to believe in His existence.

The conception of God, which is so prominent in the teaching of Al-Jâhiz, has been the subject of unending discussions in the history of the Muslim theology. Besides the fact that, in the Qurân, he is represented as possessing hands, feet, eyes, etc., the believers are promised a vision of God in paradise, which on the strength of the Holy Book and traditions is supposed to be the highest reward held out to them. Necessarily this involves the idea that God has a body or a form which can be seen. In spite of the speculations of Abul Hudhayl and An-Nazzâm, the M'utazilite free-thinkers found it difficult to reconcile this view with the Greek philosophy, and while his colleagues were content to explain it away by making certain reservations, Al-Jâhiz absolutely denied that God has *substance*. He was mere *essence* and as such could not take tangible form. This denial entailed the refusal to believe in the possibility of the Divine vision in Paradise.

These conclusions of Al-Jâhiz were the result of his agreeing with the philosophical thinkers on the question of the attributes of God(1) which in importance came next to that of the form of God. According to the orthodox Muslims, will, knowledge, power and life were qualities which God possessed from eternity; the M'utazilites who called themselves the People of Unity and Justice, objected to this idea on the ground that to take these as eternal would mean admitting the plurality of God. They as champions of absolute Unity speculated on it and formulated theories which ran parallel to the Christian and Greek doctrines. In agreement with Abul Hudhayl and An-Nazzâm, Al-Jâhiz held that these attributes are not external things possessed by God, but modes and phases of the Divine Essence. The will of God, for example, he treats as a mode of knowledge; to say that God

(1) Shâhrastânî, p. 52.

wills what is good is equivalent to saying that God knows it to be good.

With the advent of intellectualism the Muslims realized the individual consciousness of freedom and human responsibility but with it the Semitic idea of predestination and of the despotism of God were not easily tenable. The conflict of these ideas marked the beginning of thinking life in the theology of Islam and since the Qadarites appeared in the field of speculation, the doctrine of free-will has been the battle ground of sectarian disputes. Al-Jâhiz who was a keen students of natural history observed that stars and planets each have their appointed course, and he saw no reason why this should not be true in the case of every other object in creation. To him the *qadr* or decree of God meant the laws of nature. Consequently he regarded God as the source of universal law and as such He was only responsible for the actions of human beings as the Giver of this law.

Dependent on this conception is the position of man as regards his actions. Here again Al-Jâhiz agreed with the naturalists and believed that all knowledge comes by nature, nevertheless it is an activity of man in which he has no choice.(1) He further enlarges upon this idea and says that man has no other activity but the will and that the rest of his acts are ascribed to man only in the sense that they occur by nature and naturally arise from his will. Will, again, he regards simply as a manner of knowing and so as an accident of knowledge; a voluntary act he defines as one known to its agent.

Assuming that God willed no evil, Al-Jâhiz taught his followers that every man who comes into this world is religiously constituted and is able to discern right from wrong; it is only his personal will that, under certain natural forces, leads him astray. Sin he defined as an act which a man commits although he knows it to be wrong. According to him, those people alone can be called infidels who, knowing the truth about God and His Prophet persist in their wrong beliefs only through their infatuation for their old cult.(2) It was this doctrine that led him to an attempt

(1) Al-Baghdadi's *Kitab al Farq baynal Firaq*, p. 160.
(2) Al-Baghdadi, p. 160.

to broaden theology enough to give every one a chance to remain within Islam.

Of greater importance than any other doctrine which distinguished Al-Jâhiz from the other M'utazilite thinkers was a principle which he had inherited directly from the deistic naturalists. Regarding the matter which constitutes the Universe, his view was that it is absolutely indestructible; a body once created could not be annihilated even by God, the only possibility being change of form or of constituents.(1) Substance he treated as everlasting, only accidents are created and variable. This view, which was most repugnant to the orthodox Muslims, for it meant the denial of the power of God who is Omnipotent even to destroy, was the result of his belief in the Unity of Nature.(2) M'amar ibn 'Abbâd had developed An-Nazzâm's ideas of creation, theorising that matter as a whole was created by God; and that the changes in it came of necessity from its nature. It fell to the lot of Al-Jâhiz to complete the theory of his master by declaring the aforesaid conclusion. Besides being significant as showing how philosophy affected theology, it meant a great change in man's attitude towards the world unseen.

Retribution in the next world and punishment of transgressing believers were the questions, differences of opinion on which had been the cause of the origin of the M'utazilites. Jâhiz believed that it is not the action that brings retribution, but the intention or the will to perform the action;(3) and, as we have seen, according to him only such actions can be termed sin which are committed in spite of the knowledge of its being wrong.

The theory of Al-Jâhiz was a great revolt against the old gloomy fatalism which made the earlier Muslims labour under the terrible consciousness that every sin, great or little, deserved the wrath of God. Further, he not only agreed with the other M'utazilites in the view that a believer cannot be condemned to the Fire, but his definition of a Muslim was so lax that it included even the most unsettled as regards their religious beliefs. This broad-mindedness is the chief feature which distinguishes Al-

(1) Ibn Hazm, Vol. IV., p. 195.
(2) Haywân, Vol. II., p. 48.
(3) Al-Baghdâdî, p. 160.

Jâhiz from the other founders of the Islâmic sects who damned all those who differed from them even in details.

His conception of God and theory of Creation, his idea of the Unity of Nature and of human responsibility, involved a change of view as regards heaven and hell. Basing the argument on his belief that God is just and wills no evil, he taught his followers that He does not cause anyone to enter hell, but that it is the inborn force of a man's nature which leads him to the pleasures of paradise or the terrors of hell. Further, his study of natural history did not allow him to believe that the torments of those entering the Fire shall be everlasting, so he held that the sinners, after some time, shall first turn into fire and then remain in that condition for ever.(1) Moreover it is interesting to note that Al-Jâhiz maintains that the descriptions of the life after death in the Qurân are merely metaphorical.(2)

Besides these general principles of which Jâhiz was the champion and ardent preacher, there is another element that he brought into fuller and more effective working. In the interpretation of facts concerning the religious beliefs he was guided more by the philosophic thinkers than the theologians.(3) Himself being free in life and thought, his attempt was to adapt theology to the requirements of the new learning which was gaining more and more ground among the Muslims. Along with his efforts to popularize philosophic ideas and present them in an acceptable form, he was not slow in applying them to the Qurân and the traditions. The word of God was infallible, so the statements in it could only be explained away. In the *Kitâb at-Tarbî' wat-Tadbîr*(4) Al-Jahiz gives a long list of questions of a religious nature which can only be answered with the help of Greek philosophy. Problems like creation, metamorphosis of unbelievers into swine and monkeys, existence of the *jinn* etc., he has touched in his Kitâb al-Haywân. How far he himself was able to assimilate Greek thought with religion, will be discussed later on.

(1) Shâhrastâni, p. 52.
(2) Bayân, Vol. I., p. 86.
(3) Shâhrastâni, p. 52.
(4) Van Voten's edition, pp. 101-116 and 135-162.
(5) Haywân, Vol. I., p. 150.

As is to be expected of so learned a man and so keen an observer, Jâhiz does not believe in the ordinary superstitions(5), but it is surprising to find that in the Kitâb al-Haywân they are rather prominent. Besides devoting a long chapter to proving the existence of the *jinn*, he seems to have believed in angels also, just as they are depicted in the Qurân; moreover he had complete faith in the fact that Jâfar ibn Abî Talib(1) shall have two wings in the next world in place of his arms which were cut off in one of the expeditions of the Prophet. He has a special chapter on the evil eye which he endeavours to explain and of which he gives some notable examples. By relating an anecdote about a snake-charmer in the court of Caliph Mansûr, he shows that there is much truth in spells.(2) He also lends his name to the stereotyped theory of the origion of the Arabic language and its being spoken for the first time by Ismâ'îl who was born of non-Arab parents.(3) It is rather difficult to decide whether on these occasions Al-Jâhiz is merely narrating facts as they have been handed down, or giving them as his personal views.

Though Jâhiz has been reckoned as one of the greatest religious thinkers of his time and all over the Islamic world his books on theology were keenly sought after(4), nevertheless, even in his life-time, a reaction had unfortunately begun to make itself evident in the Caliphate in favour of the traditional theology, a movement hostile to the M'utazilites. Al-Jâhiz laments in his treatise on the Nâbita that the traditionalists studied the Kalâm and made use of it against them.

The position of those who had inherited any foreign philosophic thought gradually became more and more unsatisfactory and even impossible. In 260 A. H., five years after the death of Jâhiz, was born Al-Ash'arî whose doctrines eventually killed speculation on religion. He gave such a blow to the rationalistic views of the M'utazila that they never rose again. How Al-Jâhiz was viewed under this new regime of orthodoxy would be

(1) See Ibu Hisham, pp. 794-795.
(2) For the superstitions see Haywân, Vol. II., pp. 47, 117-198 and Vol. III., p. 71.
(3) Bayân, Vol. III., pp. 144-45.
(4) Yâqût's Mujam Al-udabâ, Vol. VI., p. 73.

pretty clear from the following quotation from al-Baghdâdî (d. 429 A.H.). After stating and refuting all the so-called heresies of Jâhiz he says :(1)

> The followers of Al-Jahiz were led away by the beauty of the language, used by him in his books about which one might say: "They are compositions which are clear, though they have no meaning; and contain words which terrify, though they have no substance." Had they known the ignorance shown in his heresies, far from ascribing beauties to him, they would have begged Allah's pardon for calling him a man.
>
> And to whoever boasts about Al-Jâhiz we commend the saying of the orthodox about him in the words of the poet concerning him :
>
> *If the ugliness of the swine is doubled*
> *His ugliness would still be inferior to that of al-Jâhiz*
> *A man who himself is a substitute for hell*
> *And a mote in the eye of everyone who looks at him.*

And this harsh criticism is simply due to the fact that Jâhiz was not narrow-minded enough to confine himself to those facts and theories alone which were centuries old, and believed that like all other human institutions religion also was governed by the universal law of development and evolution and that for its survival it must adapt itself to its environment.

The great ideal of Al-Jâhiz was to effect a compromise between Islamic theology and philosophy; but, in whatever way we may value that to-day, the fact remains that, according to the judgment of his own age, he did not achieve his purpose.

(1) Kitâbul Farq baynal Firaq, pp. 180-182

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

I have a letter in which I was asked to give my opinion about institutional religion.

As an abstract idea I have nothing to say against it. It is, like the caste system, perfect when ideally represented. Men can be classified according to their inherent differences in temperament. If all the natural Brahmins came together to carry on the work which was only for them to perform, then, through their mutual encouragement and co-operation, a tremendous force could be generated for the good of man.

But, directly a group is formed, its personality almost always gives rise to an egoism which judges its own value by its external success and physical duration. The sect struggles for bigness and for self-preservation even at the cost of truth. The growing consciousness of its own distinction develops into a pride, which like the pride of wealth is a temptation.

It is extremely difficult to become truly Christian, and yet, by following the easy path of belonging to a Christian sect, one seems to acquire the merit of being a Christian, and to have a right to despise even one's betters who by chance or choice do not profess Christianity. This has invariably been the case in all religions which crystallise themselves into sectarianism. Religious communities are more often formed upon custom and herd habit than upon truth.

The children born to a Christian family are included in the community, not because they have proved their fitness to belong to it, but because of the accident of birth. They do not have the time or opportunity to discover their own inclination towards the religion they profess. They are persistently hypnotised into believing that they are Christians, and so we often witness the scene of men preaching Christianity, as missionaries or even as

bishops, to their unchristian fellow-beings, whom they would have killed without a qualm as soldiers, or held down for ever under their heels as diplomats,—had they followed their own true vocations.

An Institution which brings together individuals who are profoundly true in their common aspiration is a great help to its members; but if, by its very constitution, it offers accommodation to those who merely have the uniformity of habit, and not the unity of true faith, it necessarily becomes a breeding place of untruths. And because all organisations, by the virtue of their combining power, mechanically acquire a certain amount of force, such untruths find a ready opportunity to create widespread mischief.

Christ, like all other spiritual personalities, was solitary in his greatness and yet he had his pure relationship, through truth and love, with all humanity. His spirit works in solitude in the depth of men's souls and therefore, while we find great-hearted individuals to be on the side of the people who are oppressed and insulted, the Church is often on the side of vested interest and established power which have come into being for exploiting the weak. This is because the Church as an organisation is a power which has its natural alliance with other powers that are not only non-religious but very often irrelegious; in fact, it is even ready to make its bargain with the very powers that crucified Christ.

It is a truism to say that the character of the majority of the members in any community determines the level of its ideal; and therefore an institution which is indiscriminate in the choice of its materials, and which has an inordinate greed for the augmentation of its numbers, very often also becomes the most efficient organ for expressing the collective passion of its members.

Have you not noticed this during the late war? And does

not the profession of Christianity, in its sectarian aspect, fashion, in times of peace, a cloak of respectability which covers a multitude of sins?

I know that a community of God-seekers is a great shelter for man, but directly it grows into an institution it is apt to give ready access to the devil by its back door. All the same the fact cannot be ignored that Religion has ever sought its shelter in institutions; in fact, when the former is independent of the latter, it is not recognised as a religion at all.

This is the case with the harvest of religious thoughts, reaped in a great period of Indian history, which is garnered in the Upanishads. These had nothing to do with any institution; they never harboured any creeds, nor built rigid walls round them of logical consistency; and therefore people brought up in the atmosphere of some sectarian religion consider the texts contained in them merely as so many seeds of religious Philosophy. But there can be no doubt that these seeds came out of the fruit of a true life of religion, fully lived. Such religion is no less a religion because it is free from the bondage of sect.

What is remarkable about the religion of the Upanishads is that, though it was worked out by individuals who were not tied to each other by a common bond of conformity, a natural cord of unity nevertheless runs through their different thoughts of all variety of shades. For myself, I believe in such freedom of spiritual realisation, and I feel that the habit of obedience produced by the constant guidance of fixed creeds and ever-watchful sects enfeebles the spiritual instinct of man and gives rise to materialistic ideas disguised in religious phraseology.

The letter, to which I began by referring, came to my mind once again when I read the chapter on the Upanishads in Prof. Radhakrishnan's book on *Indian Philosophy*. Not being a scholar or a student of philosophy, I do not feel justified in writing a critical appreciation of any description about the Philosophy of the Upanishads. What I venture to do is, to express my satisfaction at the fact that my friend, Prof. Radhakrishnan, has

undertaken to explain the spirit of the Upanishads to English readers, hoping that it will help some of them in the training of their attitude of mind towards the reality which is spiritual.

It is not enough that one should know the meaning of the words and the grammar of the Sanskrit texts in order to realise the deeper significance of the utterances that have come to us across centuries of vast changes, both of the mental as well as the external conditions of life. Once the language in which these were written was a living one and, therefore, the words contained in them had their full context in the life of the people of that period, who spoke them. Divested of that vital atmosphere a large part of the language of these great texts offer to us merely its philological structure and not life's subtle gesture which can express through suggestions all that is ineffable.

For an illustration let me refer to that stanza of Keats' *Ode to a Nightingale*, which ends with the following lines :

> The same that oft-times hath
> Charm'd magic casements, opening on the foam
> Of perilous seas, in faery lands forlorn.

All these words have their synonyms in our Bengali language. But, if through their help I try to understand the above lines or express the idea contained in them, the result would be contemptible. Should I suffer from a sense of race superiority in our own people, and have a low opinion of English literature, I could do nothing better in my support than literally to translate or to paraphrase in our own tongue all the best poems written in English.

Unfortunately the Upanishads have met with such treatment, at least in some parts of the West, and the result is typified disastrously in a book like Gough's *Philosophy of the Upanishads*. My experience of philosophical writings being extremely meagre, I may be wrong when I say that this is the

only philosophical discussion about the Upanishads in English, but at any rate the lack of sympathy and respect displayed in it for these collections of the most sacred words that have ever issued from the human mind, is amazing.

Though a number of symbolical expressions used in the Upanishads can hardly be understood to-day, or are sure to be wrongly interpreted, yet the messages contained in these, like some eternal source of light, still illumine and vitalise the religious mind of India. They are not associated with any particular religion, but they have the breadth of a universal soil that can supply with living sap all religions which have any spiritual ideal hidden at their core, or apparent in their fruit and foliage. Religions, which have their different standpoints, each claim them for their own support.

This has been possible because the Upanishads are based not upon theological reasoning, but on experience of spiritual life. And life is not dogmatic; in it opposing forces are reconciled—the ideas of non-dualism and dualism, the infinite and the finite, do not exclude each other. Moreover the Upanishads do not represent the spiritual experience of any one great individual, but of a great age of enlightenment which has a complex and collective manifestation, like that of the starry world. Different creeds may find their sustenance from them, but never can set sectarian boundaries round them; generations of men in our country, no mere students of philosophy, but seekers of life's fulfilment, may make living use of the texts, but can never exhaust them of their freshness of meaning.

For such men the Upanishad ideas are not wholly abstract, like those belonging to the region of pure logic. They are concrete, like all truths realised through life. The idea of Brahma when judged from the view point of intellect is an abstraction, but it is concretely real for those who have the direct vision to see it. Therefore the consciousness of the reality of Brahma has boldly been described to be as real as his consciousness of an *amlaka* fruit held in one's palm. And the Upanishad says :

Yato vácho nivartante aprápya manasá saha.
Anandam Brahmano vidván na vibheti kadáchana.

From Him come back baffled both words and mind. But he who realises the joy of Brahma is free from fear.

Cannot the same thing be said about light itself to men who may happen, by some mischance, to live all their life in an underground world cut off from the sun's rays? They must know that words can never describe to them what light is, and that the mind, through its reasoning faculty, can never even understand how one must have a direct vision to realise it intimately and be glad and free from fear.

We often hear the complaint that the Brahma of the Upanishads is described to us mostly as a bundle of negations. Are we not driven to take the same course ourselves, when a blind man asks for a description of light? Have we not to say in such a case that light has neither sound, nor taste, nor form, nor weight, nor resistance, nor can it be known through any process of analysis? Of course it can be seen; but what is the use of saying this to one who has no eyes? He may take that statement on trust without understanding in the least what it means, or may altogether disbelieve it, even suspecting in us some abnormality.

Does the truth of the fact that a blind man has missed the perfect development of what should be normal about his eyesight depend for its proof upon the fact that a larger number of men are not blind? The first creature which suddenly groped into the possession of its eye-sight had the right to assert that light was a reality. In the human world there may be very few who have their spiritual eyes open, but, in spite of the numerical preponderence of those who cannot see, their want of vision must not be cited as an evidence of the negation of light.

In the Upanishads we find the note of certainty about the spiritual meaning of existence. In the very pradoxical nature of the assertion that we can never know Brahma, but can realise Him, there lies the strength of conviction that comes from persinal experience. They aver that through our joy we know the reality that is infinite, for the test by which reality is apprehended

is joy. Therefore in the Upanishads *Satyam* and *Anandam* are one. Does not this idea harmonise with our everyday experience?

It has been said by some that the element of personality has altogether been ignored in the Brahma of the Upanishads and thus our own personality, according to them, find no response in the Infinite Truth. But what then is the meaning of the exclamation :

Vedáhametam purusham mahántam.

I have known him who is the Supreme Person!

Did not the sage, who pronounced it, at the same time proclaim that we are all *amritasya putrah,* sons of the Immortal?

Elsewhere it has been declared :

Tam vedyam purusham veda yathá má vo mrityuh parivyathah.

Know him, the Person who only is to be known, so that death may not grieve thee.

The meaning is obvious. We are afraid of death, because we are afraid of the absolute cessation of our personality. Therefore, if we realise the Person as the ultimate reality, whom we know in everything that we know, we find our own deathless personality in the bosom of the eternal.

There are numerous verses in the Upanishad which speak of immortality. I quote one of these :

Eshadevo visvakarmá mahátmá
sadá janánám hridaye sannivishtah
hridá manishá manasá viklipto
ya etad vidur amritás te bhavanti.

This is the God who is the world-worker, the supreme soul, who always dwells in the heart of all men; those who know him through their mind, and the heart that is full of the certainty of knowledge, become immortal.

To realise with the heart and mind the divine being who dwells within us is to be assured of everlasting life. It is *mahátmá* the great reality of the inner being, which is *visva-karmá* the world-worker, whose manifestation is in the outer work occupying all time and space.

Our own personality also consists of an inner truth which expresses itself in outer movements. When we realise, not merely through our intellect, but through our heart strong with the strength of its wisdom, that Mahátmá, the Infinite Person, dwells in the Person which is in me, we cross over the region of death. Death only concerns our limited self; when the Person in us is realised in the supreme Person then the limits of our self lose for us their finality.

The question necessarily arises, what is the significance of this self of ours? Is it nothing but an absolute bondage for us?

If this world were ruled only by some law of forces then it would certainly have hurt out mind at every step and there would be nothing that could give us joy for its own sake. But the Upanishad says that from *Ananda*, from an inner spirit of Bliss, have come out all things and by it they are maintained. Therefore, in spite of contradictions, we have our joy in life, we have experiences that carry their final value for us.

It has been said, that the Infinite Reality finds its revelation *in ánanda-rûpam amritam*, in the deathless form of joy. The supreme end of our personality also is to express itself in its creations. But works done through the compulsion of necessity or some passion that blinds us and drags us on with its impetus, are fetters for our soul; they do not express the wealth of the infinite in us, but merely our want or our weakness.

Our soul has its *ánandam*, its consciousness of the infinite which is blissful. This seeks its expression in limits which, when they assume the harmony of forms and the balance of movements, constantly indicate the limitless. Such expression is freedom, freedom from the barrier of obscurity. Such a medium of limits we have in our self which is our medium of expression. It is for us to develop this into *ánanda-rûpam amritam*, an embodiment of deathless joy, and only then the infinite in us can no longer remain obscured.

This self of ours can also be moulded to give expression to the personality of a business man, or a fighting man, or a working man, but in these it does not reveal our supreme reality, and therefore therein we remain shut up in a prison of our own construction. Self finds its *ánanda-rûpam*, which is its freedom in revelation, when it reveals a truth that transcends self, like a lamp revealing light which goes far beyond its material limits, proclaiming its kinship with the sun. When our self is illuminated with the light of love, then the negative aspect of its separateness with others loses its finality, and then our relationship with others is no longer that of competition and conflict, but of sympathy and co-operation.

I feel strongly that this for us, is the teaching of the Upanishads and that this teaching is very much needed in the present age for those who boast of the freedom of their nations, using that freedom for building up a dark world of spiritual blindness, where the passions of greed and hatred are allowed to roam unchecked, having for their allies deceitful diplomacy and wide-spread propaganda of falsehood, where the soul remains caged and the self battens upon the decaying flesh of its victims.

THE DIVINE ORDER.

Certainly, ideals are not the ultimate Reality, for that is too high and vast for any ideal to envisage; they are aspects of it thrown out in the world-consciousness as a basis for the workings of the world-power. But they are primary, the actual workings secondary.

They are nearer to the Reality and therefore always more real, forcible and complete than the facts which are their partial reflection. Reflections themselves of the Real, they again are reflected in the more concrete workings of our existence.

The human intellect in proportion as it limits itself by the phenomena of self-realising Force fails to catch the creative Idea until after we have seen the external fact it has created; but this order of our sense-enslaved consciousness is not the real order of the universe.

God pre-exists before the world can come into being, but to our experience in which the senses act first, and only then the finer workings of consciousness, the world seems to come first and God to emerge out of it, so much so that it costs us an effort to rise out of the mechanical pluralistic and pantheistic conceptions of Him to a truer and higher idea of the Divine Reality. That which to us is the ultimate is in truth the primary reality.

So too the Idea which seems to us to rise out of the fact, really precedes it and out of it the fact has arisen. Our vulgar contrast of the ideal and the real is therefore a sensuous error, for that which we call real is only a phenomenon of force working out something that stands behind the phenomenon and that is pre-existent and greater than it. The Real, the Idea, the phenomenon, this is the true order of the creative Divinity.

—Aurobindo.

THOUGHTS ON THE PRESENT SITUATION.

By THE EDITOR.

The seer who would lead men into action is often forced into a position between two fires. The vision of truth, which comes to him direct and not as the conclusion of a formal intellectual process, is untranslateable into terms of precision such as the ranks may read as they run, and it has therefore to be communicated in parables. This, on the one hand, simply keeps his honest opponents puzzled, while giving opportunity for a *reductio ad absurdum* to those who are otherwise. On the other hand, his *chelas* tend to grow into the worst enemies of his Ideal by parading as a sectarian fetish that which their *guru* had given them as a working symbol.

This is what Mahatma Gandhi seems now called upon to contend with; and, trust him as we may to take care of the principles for which he stands, he should command, at this juncture from his true admirers, be they for or against any particular item on his programme, a frank and considered submission of their doubts and difficulties, if not of helpful suggestions.

We contribute, as our mite towards this end, sundry thoughts from two western Idealists, placing first before our readers certain difficulties in the words of M. Romain Rolland(1) who cannot be accused of bias and than whom no looker on is more fitted to judge of ideals and their working. And thereupon we shall offer certain solutions discussed by Mr. Arthur J. Penty(2).

M. Rolland, after introducing his hero as the man who has stirred three hundred million people to revolt, who has shaken the foundations of the British Empire, and who has introduced into human politics the strongest religious impetus of the last two thousand years, proceeds with his study of the Mahatma's activities, so far as they relate to recent Indian politics, as follows.

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(1) **Mahatma Gandhi**, *by Romain Rolland*, London; The Swarthmore Press Ltd.
(2) **Post-Industrialism**, *by Arthur J. Penty*, London; George Allen & Unwin Ltd.

It should be noted that when Gandhi stepped into the political field as leader of the opposition to the Rowlatt bills, he was moved only by a desire to spare the country from violence. The revolt was bound to come; the point, therefore, was to turn it into non-violent channels.

To understand Gandhi's activity, it should be realised that below it is the solid groundwork, the basic foundation, of religion, but that the political and social campaign, which is based thereon, is not the ideal continuation of this unshakeable foundation, being only the best structure possible under present conditions.

Gandhi believes in the religion of his people, in Hinduism. But he is not a scholar, attached to the punctilious interpretation of texts, nor is he a blind believer accepting unquestioningly all the traditions of his religion. His religion must satisfy his reason and his conscience.

Nor does he look upon Hinduism as the only religion, and this is a very important point. "I believe the Bible the Koran, and the Zend Avesta to be as divinely inspired as the Vedas. Hinduism tells every one to worship God according to his own faith and so it lives at peace with all religions." Gandhi claims that the revelation of passive resistance came to him after reading the Sermon on the Mount, in 1893.

Ever since Rousseau, our Western Civilisation has been attacked by the greatest and broadest minds of Europe. When Asia began to revolt against Western oppression, she had only to peer into Europe's own files to compile formidable records of the iniquity of her so-called civilised invaders. Gandhi did not fail to do so. Further, in the depths to which Europe sank during the last war, called the "War for Civilisation" she, in her insanity, even invited the peoples of Asia and Africa to contemplate her nudity. They saw her and judged her.

Gandhi had however seen the real face of western civilisation long before 1914. It had revealed itself to him unmasked during his twenty years campaign in South Africa. This civilisation says Gandhi, is civilisation in name only. In reality it corresponds to what Hinduism calls the Dark Age. It has set up material well-being as the only goal of life. It scorns spiritual values. It means hell for the weak and the

working classes. India's aim should be to repudiate this western civilisation.

The nucleus of modern civilisation, its heart, so to speak, is machinery. The machine has become a monstrous idol. It must be done away with. To a free India, heir to British machinery, Gandhi would prefer an India dependent on the British market. Indian progressives, imbued with modern ideas, ask what would become of India if she were to have no railroads, tramways, or industries? To which Gandhi replies that thousands of years ago India learned the art of self-control and mastered the science of happiness. She does not need the machinery of large cities. Her ancient prosperity was founded on the plough and the spinning wheel, and on her philosophy. India must go back to the sources of her ancient culture.

This is Gandhi's fundamental argument. It stands for a definite denial of Europe's so-called progress, a repudiation of her scientific achievement. The youthful Occident, on the other hand, carried away by its own speed, does not realise sufficiently that its own law of progress is subject to eclipses, back-slidings and recommencements. Hence the conflict.

M. Rolland merely notes here that this important question demands discussion.

But what if the West in its obsession, is unable to correct itself until too late? Shall the East, which allowed itself to be caught in the toils of this mechanical civilisation, fascinated by its momentary glamour, allow itself to be dragged to its doom, now that its eyes are opened, without at least one last struggle of its yet undefeated spirit? Let us see what light M. Rolland has to throw on the struggle which is in progress, before we go on to the discussion which he says is demanded.

Gandhi, continues M. Rolland, never asks men for more than they can give. But he asks for all that they can give. Gandhi knows what he may demand of India and India is prepared to give whatever Gandhi may demand.

"I know" says Gandhi "that *Swaraj* is the object of the

nation and not non-violence." And he adds,—words amazing on his lips—"I would rather see India freed by violence than chained like a slave to her foreign oppressors." But, he continues, correcting himself at once, this is an impossible supposition, for violence can never free India. Swaraj can only be attained by soul force—Satyagraha—which he also defines as truth-force and love-force.

Exalted pride, the Mahatma's proud love of India, demands that she should scorn violence as unworthy and be ready to sacrifice herself. Non-violence is her title of nobility. If she abandons it she falls. Gandhi cannot bear the thought.

In 1921 Gandhi's power was at its apogee. The people looked upon him as a saint. He was the undisputed master of India's policy. It was up to him to start a political revolution if he thought fit, or even to reform religion. He did not wish to do so. Moral grandeur? Moral hesitancy? Both perhaps. I will try to explain my feeling in regard to the living enigma, with the religious respect I have for this great man and the sincerity I owe to his sincerity.

Gandhi is an exception among prophets and mystics, for he sees no visions, has no revelations; he does not try to persuade himself that he is guided supernaturally, nor does he try to make others believe it. He sanctions no tyranny, not even for the good of the cause. He does not set up his country against other countries; his patriotism is not confined to the boundaries of India. He says: "A patriot is so much less a patriot if he is a lukewarm humanitarian."

But have his disciples always felt this way? On their lips, what becomes of Gandhi's doctrine, and, interpreted by them, how does it reach the masses? Mr. D. N. Kalekar writes a *Gospel of Swadeshi*, which Gandhi stamps with his approval. The conclusion of this runs as follows:

> We should avoid being intimate with those whose social customs are different from ours. We should not mingle in the lives of men or people whose ideals are different from ours. Every man is a brook. Every nation is a river. They must follow their course, clear and pure, till they reach the Sea of Salvation, where all will blend.

What is this but the triumph of nationalism? The narrowest and most unpolluted? Why does Gandhi let his magnificent ideal, a message for the whole world, be imprisoned within the narrow bounds of an Indian theocracy? Beware of disciples! The purer they are, the more pernicious.

But this is not all. While the disciples who live near the master are at least tinged by his noble spirituality, what about the disciples of his disciples, and the others, the masses, to whom the doctrine comes merely as vague and broken echoes?

The distinction: "Hate Satanism while loving Satan" is a little too subtle for the average man to grasp. And when public speakers dwell on the crimes and treachery of the English, anger and rancour pile up behind the sluices; and beware when the sluices burst.

When Gandhi, explaining why he advocates the burning of foreign stuffs, says to C. F. Andrews that he is transferring ill will from men to things, he does not realise that the fury of the masses is gathering impetus, and that instinctively these masses reason: "things first, men next." He does not foresee that in less than three months afterwards men will be killing men.

Gandhi is too much of a saint. He is too free from the animal passions that lie dormant in man. Beware the mob! The moral precepts of a Gandhi will not be able to curb it. The only way, perhaps, to prevent it from running wild, would be for him to pose as an incarnated god. But Gandhi's sincerity and humility prevent him from playing this role.

And what will come now? Will this people remain true to its ideal? Nations have short memories, and I should have but slight faith in India's power to remain true to the Mahatma's teaching, if his doctrines were not an expression of the deepest and most ancient longings of the race.

In India there are still too many who do not see beyond *Swaraj*. Incidentally, I imagine that this political goal will soon be reached. Europe, bled by wars and revolutions, impoverished and exhausted, despoiled of her prestige, cannot long resist on Asiatic soil the aspirations of the awakened people of Asia.

But this would mean little, if the surging spirit of Asia did not become the vehicle for a new ideal of life and of death, and

what is more, of action, for all humanity. The world is swept by the wind of violence. Centuries of brutal national pride, whetted by the idolatrous idealogy of the Revolution, spread by the empty mockery of the democracies and crowned by a century of inhuman industrialism, a materialistic system of economics where the soul perishes, were bound to culminate in these dark struggles.

We know the material ties that weigh on twentieth century Europe, the crushing determinism of economic conditions that hem it in; we know that centuries of passions and systematised error have built a crust about our souls which the light cannot pierce. But we also know what miracles the spirit can work.

I have this faith. I know it is scorned and persecuted in Europe, and that in my own land we are but a handful who believe in it. But even if I were the only one to believe in it, what would it matter? Faith is a battle. And our non-violence is the most desperate battle. The way to Peace is not through weakness. We do not fight violence so much as weakness. Moaning pacifism is the death-knell of Peace; it is cowardice and lack of faith. Let those who do not believe, who fear, withdraw. The way to peace leads through self-sacrifice, this is Gandhi's message.

The great religious apparitions of the Orient are ruled by a rhythm. One thing is certain: Either Gandhi's spirit will triumph, or it will manifest itself again,—as were manifested, centuries before, the Buddha and the Messiah,—till there finally is manifested, in a mortal half-god, the perfect incarnation of the principle of life which will lead a new humanity on to a new path.

Let us stop here, with M. Rolland's burning message of hope, and come back to the first point of difficulty indicated by him,—the charge of the return to Medievalism levelled against the Mahatma's programme by reason of his revolt against the machine, and incidentally to the question sometimes raised, but never definitely discussed, that inasmuch as the plough the *charka*, the loom and the like are also machines, where should the line be drawn and why?

On these points the observations of Mr. Penty, though not

directed by him to the Mahatma or to India, deserve anxious consideration at the hands of our countrymen. With the pluck of a true idealist, Mr. Penty does not shirk the point; with the conviction of a man who has seen and done things for himself, he indicates the remedy. We give below the substance of his argument as far as possible in his own words.

Among the changes in thought that have come about as a result of the war, the most significant is the changed attitude towards Industrialism. Before the war it was taken for granted by most people as a thing of permanence and stability, while it was everywhere assumed that whatever evils were associated with it were incidental, and would disappear before the march of progress. Now-a-days all that is changed.

The Socialist theory of social evolution, based upon the assumption that machinery is a creative force, has been entirely falsified by experience, since so far from new forms of social order and new traditions arising in response to the stimulus of the machine, as Marx predicted, the unrestricted use of machinery has proved to be purely destructive.

The evidence that industrialism is a blind alley from which we must retrace our steps or perish, becomes more conclusive every day. Whatever excuse there may be for the mistaken judgments of Owen and Marx, there is simply no excuse for socialists to-day,—the cancer of industrialism has begun to mortify, and the end is in sight.

It is urgent that we should seek to return to the point at which we lost our way. Such being the case, medievalism is not romanticism, but rather the last word in utilitarianism, as all must sooner or later find out. It challenges the conception of progress through an indiscriminating industrial advance by reference to a past age which, whatever may have been its defects, was at any rate free from the more fatal defects of the present.

The modern world is not interested in medievalism, not because it is more realistic, but because it lives on phrases and disregards things, because it is satisfied with words like progress, emancipation, liberty, which can be twisted to mean anything, because it is not interested in fundamental things.

In this view, the problem of machinery has a positive and a negative aspect. Its negative aspect is to prevent the further destruction of the traditions of civilisation, and its positive aspect is the re-creation of such traditions as the misuse of machinery in the past has destroyed.

When we come of think of things in this way, we begin to see that though machinery has been the more active agent in the destruction of our traditions, yet it is by no means the only agent and that it would not have been anything like so destructive had it not gone hand in hand with the subdivision of labour.

To explain what I mean it will be necessary to make clear the difference between the *division of labour* which is a natural and normal thing, and the *sub-division of labour,* which is both unnatural and abnormal.

The division of labour is a necessity of any civilised society since, as it is obvious that a man cannot supply all his own needs, the labour of the community must be divided between different occupations. One man is a potter, another a weaver, a third a carpenter and so forth; upto this point the division of labour is justified, not merely because it is a necessity of civilisation, but because it enlarges the life of the individual and his opportunities for self-expression. In the seventeenth century, however, under the impulse of profit-making a further development took place.

The classical example of the sub-division of labour is that eulogised by Adam Smith, namely pin making, in which industry it takes twenty men to make a pin, each man being specialised for a lifetime upon a single process. This sub-division of labour and its recent development into scientific management are the curses of industrial civilisation, for by reducing men to automatons they reduce them to mere fragments of men; they undermine their spiritual, moral and physical life and disintegrate their personality, while by giving rise to gluts in the market they lead inevitably to sweating and economic insecurity.

Of course this system cannot last. Its own activities are generating toxins which are poisoning it. For while on the one hand it is giving rise to wholesale incompetence, on the other, by destroying all charm in work and turning it into hated toil, it has roused a spirit of class hatred that expresses itself in revolt.

Moreover it uses up our natural resources at such a ruinous rate that, apart from any other consideration, the limit of exhaustion must soon be reached.

Over-specialisation is the bane of the modern world and it affects the intellectual worker not perhaps in the same degree, but with consequences as potent for evil as those which are deplored in the world of labour. It is said that in Germany specialisation, before the war, had reached such a development that each individual became a monomaniac in his own subject!

To this development of specialisation a limit must be placed somewhere. In the intellectual world no line can be drawn and the only remedy is to exalt the idea of a cultural unity. But in industry it is different. There a line can and should be drawn and I submit it should be through the point which craft development had reached before the sub-division of labour replaced the division of labour. To suffer specialisation to proceed further is, to use an engineering term, to trespass on the margin of safety.

If society is to be reconstructed on a basis that allows for a margin of safety, scientific management and the sub-division of labour must be abolished and a return made to handicraft as the basis of production, using machinery only in an accessory way. If this be done machinery might become a blessing instead of the curse it is to-day. It is because machinery has for the most part followed along the lines laid down by sub-division of labour that it has been so grossly misapplied. At all costs the traditional normal human relationships that are to be found at the centre of a normal society must be restored, and the use of machinery limited in such a way as not to interfere with them.

The truth is, of course, that all creative work is finally personal. It originates in one mind, though the assistance of others may be used to carry it into effect. We speak of the architecture of the Middle Ages being democratic, and it *was* democratic in the sense that the individual worker enjoyed a liberty in respect to the details of his work that is impossible to-day. Yet it was hierarchical at the same time. No building was the work of a committee, but of an individual who knew how to avail himself of the creative capacity of his subordinates.

It is to this Medieval system that we must get back. It is not incompatible with the use of a certain amount of machinery for doing the rougher and heavier work, but it is incompatible with the sub-division of labour.

But, it will be said, these things may be so, yet it is hopeless to abolish the sub-division of labour or to limit the use of machinery. The worker of to-day has no experience of the handicrafts, and has become too much a part of the system to rebel against it. To which I answer that, while not denying the truth in such scepticism, yet the question is, not finally how I or anybody else is going to change the industrial system, but how the capitalists and their blind followers are going to preserve it from destruction.

When people speak of changing the system, they very often mean little more than changing the ownership of the system. Hence, the real issue with them is finally the problem of how power is to be attained. But it is obvious that the attainment of power and a capacity to use it for the public advantage are two entirely different things. The Laborities do not recognise the existence of the problem of men and machines that lie at the centre of the economic problem and, because they do not, they are as impotent in the face of the present economic morass as any previous government.

Marx saw that the investment and re-investment of surplus wealth for further increase would, in the long run, produce an economic deadlock, but what he did not see was that his process of industrial development was not only destructive of capitalism, but of the very fabric of society, that the unrestricted use of machinery and mechanical methods would bring into existence a civilisation so complex that the human mind would be unable to comprehend all its multitudinous interconnections. And because our modern civilisation makes demands on our alertness and many-sideness with which our wits and sympathies cannot cope, it tends to degenerate into anarchy.

Recognising, as we do, that our industrial system is in a state of disintegration, the problem that presents itself is, not how to capture or overthrow the existing system, but how a new

civilisation can be built out of its ruins. Accepting the position that our industrial system is doomed, we should deal with our unemployed as individual men, rather than in the mass, and set to work to turn them into agriculturists and handicraftsmen. There should be no more difficulty about that, if undertaken in a public way, than there was about turning civilians into soldiers during the war.

Pausing for a moment to mark our gratification at the remarkable way in which Mr. Penty's conclusions coincide with the lines of rural reconstruction adopted by Visva-bharati in Sriniketan, we shall conclude by giving the equally luminous exposition of this British idealist of the mechanical degeneration which is threatening to overtake democracy itself,—again a welcome contribution from overseas to the Visva-bharati Ideal.

One immediate practical difficulty which stands in the way of the re-organisation of society on a democratic basis is the tendency of modern collective activity to be choked by a multiplicity of committees. It matters not what the nature of the activity may be,—cultural or political, official or non-official,—the same fate overtakes all modern people whenever they attempt to act together.

If we reflect on this phenomenon, only two deductions can be made from it. Either democracy is an impossible ideal; or our conception of democracy is a false one. The latter I believe to be the true explanation.

Society was more democratic in the Middle Ages. The law was supreme. The king was as much subject to it as any of his subjects. The government was also democratic, but not in the modern sense, for it was government by consent rather than by election. Democracy to-day is identified with the idea of majority rule. The exaggeration of this idea leads to all the trouble, inasmuch as when men come to believe that there is something sacrosanct about majority rule, they waste such an amount of time in discussing points of procedure and all kinds of inconsequential things, that no time is left for the things that

really matter, with the result that majority rule defeats its own ends.

The waste of time in a general committee resulting from attempts to realise the democratic principle, leads to the appointment of sub-committees to deal with details. With the extension of activities the average committee man gets lost amidst the complexity of detail, until a time comes when only the permanent officials understand the business in hand. When that point is reached, substantial power tends to pass into their hands entirely. The democratic form is retained but its reality goes.

This is the inevitable ending of all democratic bodies as at present constituted. They get things done, but not in the way that any one particularly desires they should be done; this provokes rebellion within the body, the rebels assuming that they suffer because of too little democracy; whereas the truth is we suffer at the same time from too much and too little—too much democratic machinery, too little democratic spirit.

Our democratic ideas have been inherited from Rousseau; but, as a matter of fact, for Rousseau democracy was only a means to an end, not an end in itself, the end being government by the wise. The whole trouble of the modern world, from one point of view, is precisely that the best and the wisest do not automatically come to he top under democracy any more than under any other form of government. A capacity for public speaking, rather than personal character, becomes the primary qualification for public life. With this comes about a deterioration in the type of public representative and, consequent on this decline, there grows up a political machine which can automatically produce majorities. Lastly follows political corruption and jobbery and the defeat of everything that the ideal of democracy exists to promote.

In the Middle Ages, king and peasant, priest and craftsman, were bound together by a common religious tradition which, however much they might disagree, was stronger than their differences. As a consequence of the modern gulf,—due to a variety of causes,—between the cultured and the uncultured, such as never existed in the past, the wise are no longer understood of the people.

In this light the problem of democracy is seen to be dependent upon our capacity to create a culture in which every member of the community can share. For, as Ramiri de Maeztu observes, "men cannot unite immediately among one another; they unite in things, in common values, in the pursuit of common ends."

Perhaps now we may begin to understand where the weakness of democracy is to be found. It places the love of one's neighbour before the love of God. Even in educational institutions, which are presumably interested in cultural values, they do not place cultural (which is the same as spiritual) interests first. And, as to politics, pursued apart from a new ideal of life as expressed in spiritual values, it tends to lose touch with reality and degenerate into mere opportunism, or secret force.

The great leader, like the great artist, subordinates himself to the needs of a great tradition. As such his spirit is necessarily democratic, for the true democratic spirit is not the one that seeks to give the public what they want, like the Northcliffe Press, but one that can subordinate itself to the real public need. Two very different things; for the time server is the first; the great teacher the second.

To what then does the great teacher subordinate himself? To the great communal traditions of the past, from which he chooses his vehicle of expression, seeking however always to transcend them. The truth is, that it is impossible to discover the future apart from an understanding of the past, as the fact that the modernists are invariably taken by surprise, bears witness.

The original mind, as Mr. G. K. Chesterton remarks in his preface to Mr. Penty's book, always goes back to origins. That in a nutshell is the justification of the leader of the present movement, which is miscalled retrograde only by those who are blind to everything except immediate advantage. And, in view of his love for the English race which the Mahatma has never lost even in his darkest trials, it gives us peculiar pleasure to report this unconscious vindication, coming from Great Britain itself, of the essentials of his policy.

Ashutosh Mukherji.

It is with deep sorrow that I offer my tribute of appreciation to the memory of Ashutosh Mukherji.

Men are always rare in all countries through whom the aspiration of their people can hope to find its fulfilment, who have the thundering voice to say that what is needed shall be done; and Ashutosh had that magic voice of assurance. He had the courage to dream because he had the power to fight and the confidence to win,—his will itself was the path to the goal. The sudden removal of the vigour of such a personality from among our people has caused it a reeling sense of dizziness, like the blankness of exhaustion following a serious loss of blood.

The complex personality of Ashutosh Mukherji had its various channels of expression. It is not in my power to deal in detail with his many gifts which found scope in so many different fields of achievement. My admiration was attracted to him where he revealed the freedom of mind needed for work of creation. He had not the dull patience and submissive efficiency that is content to keep oiled and working the clock-work of an organisation: he despised to try and win merit by diligently turning the official prayer-wheel through an eternity of perfect monotony. It had been possible for him to dream of the miracle of introducing a living heart behind the steel framework made in the doll factory of bureaucracy, though this could only be done through a revolution upsetting the respectability of rigid routine and incurring thereby the displeasure of the high priest of the Machine-idol.

The creative spirit of life which has to assert itself against barren callousness must, in its struggle for victory, wreck things that claim only immediate value. We can afford to overlook such losses which are pitifully small compared to the great price of our object which is Freedom. Ashutosh heroically fought against heavy odds for winning freedom for our education. We, who in our own way, have been working for the same cause, who deserve to be treated as outlaws by the upholders of law and order in the realm of the dead, had the honour of receiving from him the extended hand of comradeship, for which we shall ever remember him. In fact he removed for us the ban of official untouchability and opened a breach in the barricade of distrust, establishing a path of communication between his institution and our own field of work, but never asking us to surrender in the least our independence.

Ashutosh Mukherji touched the Calcutta University with the magic wand of his creative genius, in order to transform it into a living organism belonging to the life of the Bengali people. This was his gift of gifts to his country, but it is a gift of endeavour, of tapasyá, *which will reach its fulfilment only if we know how to accept it.*

Rabindranath Tagore

VISVA-BHARATI BULLETIN

I

Rabindranath to Chinese Students.

[*Report of first talk, on the day of his arrival at Shanghai to a gathering of Chinese Students in the garden of Dr. Carsun Chang.*]

It is a day of rejoicing for me, that I who belong to a distant part of Asia should be invited to this land of yours, and I am deeply thankful that such good fortune has come to me.

I shall make a confession. When I had your invitation I felt nervous ; I had read so many conflicting opinions about your religion and your customs that I asked myself : "What is it these people expect when they invite me to their country, and what message is it necessary for me to take for their welfare?"

Before Christmas I had been debating this and putting off the date of my departure, partly because I was unwell, but also, quite frankly, because I could not make up my mind. In the meantime, Spring broke out in my own land.

A sense of compulsion had been urging me to sit down and prepare my lectures. Having to write in a language not my own, this preparation was necessary for me and took time. But Spring came and the poet heard its call. Day fter day tunes came into my mind, songs took shape, and I was lured from what I thought was my duty.

Yet I could not get rid of the trouble in my heart. How was I to stand before my friends in China, after idling away my time doing nothing, or what was perhaps even worse? But surely you don't expect fulfilling of engagements from poets. They are for capturing on their instruments the secret stir of life in the air and giving it voice in the music of prophecy. Yes, a poet's help is needed at the time of awakening, for only he dares proclaim that, without our knowing it, the ice has given way ; that the winter which had its narrow boundaries, its chains of ice, inhospitable and coldly tyrannical, is gone. The world has for long been in its grip,—the exclusive winter that keeps the human races within closed doors. But the doors are going to open. Spring has come.

I had my faith, then, that you would understand my idling, my defiance of duty. And it came to my mind: Is it not the same thing, your invitation and this invitation of the Spring breeze, which was never ignored by your own wayward poets who forgot their duty over the wine-cup? I too had to break my engagements, to lose your respect,—and thereby win your love. In other continents they are hard taskmasters; they insist on every pound of flesh; and there, for the sake of self-preservation, I would have done my duty and forgotten my muse.

I say that a poets' mission is to attract the voice which is yet inaudible in the air; to inspire faith in the dream which is unfulfilled; to bring the earliest tidings of the unborn flower to a sceptic world.

So many are there to-day who do not believe. They do not know that faith in a great future itself creates that future; that without faith you cannot recognise your opportunities which come again and again, but depart unheeded. Prudent men and unbelievers have created dissensions, but it is the eternal child, the dreamer, the man of simple faith, who has built up great civilisations. This creative genius, as you will see in your own past history, had faith which acknowledged no limits. The modern sceptic, who is ever critical, can produce nothing whatever,—he can only destroy. Let us then be glad with a certainty of faith that we are born to this age when the nations are coming together. This bloodshed and misery cannot go on for ever because, as human beings, we can never find our souls in turmoil and competition. There are signs that the miracle has happened. That you have asked me to come to you is one of them.

For centuries you have had merchants and soldiers and other undesirable guests, but, till this moment, you never thought of asking a poet. Is not this a great fact,—not your recognition of my personality, but the homage you thus pay to the springtime of a new age? Do not, then, ask for a message from me. People use pigeons to carry messages; and, in the war time, men valued their wings not to watch them soar, but because they helped to kill. Do not make use of a poet to carry messages!

Permit me, rather, to share your hope in the stirring of life over this land and I shall join in your rejoicing. I am not a philosopher: therefore keep for me room in your heart, not a seat on the public platform. I want to win your heart, now that I am close to you, with the faith that is in me of a great future for you, and for Asia when your country rises and gives expression to its own spirit; a future in the joy of which we shall all share.

Amongst you my mind feels not the least appression of any undue sense of race feeling, or difference of tradition. I am rather reminded of the day when India claimed you as brothers and sent you her love. That relationship is, I hope, still there, hidden in the heart of all of us,—the people of the East. The path to it may be overgrown with the grass of centuries, but we shall find traces of it still.

When you have succeeded in recalling all the things achieved in spite of insuperable difficulties, I hope that some great dreamer will spring from among you who will preach a message of love and, therewith overcoming all differences, bridge the chasm of passions which has been widening for ages. Age after age, in Asia great dreams have made the world sweet with the showers of their love. Asia is again waiting for such dreamers to come and carry on the work, not of fighting, not of profit-making, but of establishing bonds of spiritual relationship.

The time is at hand when we shall once again be proud to belong to a continent producing the light that radiates through the storm-clouds of trouble and illuminates the path of life.

II

The Eastern Idea of the Infinite.

By Ajitkumar Chakravarti.

[*We are indebted to Mr. C. F. Andrews for the pleasure of being able to publish this article the MS of which he recently found amongst his papers, having been made over to him for revision by the author, the late Ajitkumar Chakravarti, one of the earliest and most devoted workers in Santiniketan Asram who helped on the development of the Visva-Bharati ideal.*]

The picture of Time, as modern Science presents it to our gaze, does not uplift the soul. It is that of a boundless ocean on the side of the past, with a boundless ocean on the side of the future, and only a tiny island of consciousness given to us in the present whereon to take our stand, the foundations of which appear to be rocking between the past and the future even while we live and move and have our being upon its surface.

Such an infinity must be a nightmare to the brain that ponders long in thought about it. Our senses, our feelings, our thoughts vainly strive to comprehend it. One gain, and only one gain, it brings. It deepens the sense of mystery with regard to the universe in which we live. But that alone is not sufficient for our spiritual needs. The new age in which we live, is still groping for the deeper spiritual vision, which alone can unify the world. But as far as we can at present judge, modern Science can never by itself reveal that vision to mankind.

The higher thought of India was never greatly concerned with this outward infinity which relates to space and time. In that wonderful chapter in the Bhagavad Gita, where Srikrishna, in divine compassion, reveals to the bewildered gaze of Arjuna His Visvarúpam, or Universe Body, the mortal man Arjuna, who is privileged to see such an immortal sight, becomes crushed by the awe-inspiring vision of the Deity's myriad flaming eyes of suns and moons and planets and galaxies of stars, of the endless wheels of universal forces whirling and circling in the Deity's hands, of the numberless mouths of the Deity devouring countless worlds. At the terrific spectacle, Arjuna cries out at last in dismay, imploring Srikrishna to resume His incarnate human form; for the Visvarupam, the Universe Body of the Lord, is more than mortal mind can bear.

It is impossible for us, if we proceed by the path of modern Science alone, to reach any end, either of space or of time. Worlds unfold within worlds; systems within systems. There is ever a vast beyond, in comparison with which the immediate and momentarily present space and time are but as shadows in a flying dream. Who knows what undiscovered dimensions may not be all while existing, besides the three conventional ones that we already know? Who knows again what diverse aspects of space and time may not be apparent to other categories of thought, superior to our own,—aspects with novel colours, atmospheres and appearances that our senses have never perceived, our mind never imagined.

In this august movement of creation, as it reveals its outward shape and form, what prospect is there, in very truth, before mortal man but that of being swung helplessly up and down, in light and in darkness, in shadow and shine, in life and in death? Man is an infinitesimal speck in the vast inane,—a midget, whose span of life is but for an infinitesimal moment and then extinguished for ever, while the vast play of forces ceaselessly goes on.

Rabindra Nath, our Poet, has expressed the feeling of this external aspect of infinity in a poem, from which I venture to give a prose translation, however inadequate, of one section, that runs as follows:—

This is thy play,
Thou swingest us in thy swing to the rythm of a soundless melody.
For a moment thou liftest us into light,
The next moment thou hurlest us back into the darkness.
When the swing goes up we laugh for joy,
But when if goes downward we cry out in fear.
Thou takest thine own treasure
From thy right hand to thy left, and from left to right again.
Thou sittest in solitude,
Gathering the suns and moons with thy swing eternally.
Now thou uncoverest them and they are naked.
Again thou veilest them as with a garment.
Vainly we cry out loudly,
Thinking that the treasures of our heart are wrenched away.
But everything is whole and complete,
There is nought that suffers loss;
Only the swing itself perpetually comes and goes.

Here is the modern poet's vision; and sometimes in books of the West we find this new outlook on the universe becoming made into a **Weltanschauung,** the basis of a new world-faith. The evolution of the world is conceived of by these modern writers as the unfolding of a single life, of which we all partake, and into which our consciousness is able, at times of insight, to dive deep down. According to this world-view, we are one organic whole, which has passed through endless stages of unconsciousness until it reaches to the sub-conscious, and then from the sub-conscious to the self-conscious thought and self-conscious act in man. Indeed, it may pass on to still further stages of higher consciousness, as superior to this stage, where we are now, as our intellect is superior to the blind instinct of the amœba.

In metaphysical works, that were written in the Sankrit period of Indian literature, there are passages which distinctly point to a somewhat similar vision of man's soul. According to the Sanskrit writers on psychology, for instance, our consciousness is made up of many layers or depths, the superficial layer of reason being the only one fully known to us. The lower layer of instinct we share with other sentient creatures: and there is a lower and deeper layer still, which we possess in common with unconscious inorganic things.

These sub-conscious and unconscious states are not within the field of our outward knowledge; they do not come within our every-day practical experience. But there may take place, at times, a sudden "uprush" of the soul within us. Then, reason itself becomes supra-rational and consciousness leaps forward, from its narrow limit of the self, to the universal. At such times, we feel not only the life of plants and animals, but even the unconscious existence of dust and stones, as if it were our own. We are one with the Universe.

Such a state of mystical union is spoken of in the Vedanta; and I find that although the modern writers, who thus seek in the West to explain matter in terms of spirit, have not gone to the farthest reach of the inner vision, they have much in common with this form of ancient Indian thought. Such welcome voices of our present age, which are being heard from within the very fortress of science, show clearly that both gross materialism and blank agnoisticism are vanishing quantities.

These are not the final words that will be spoken by science in our own day. A new harmony is being wrought out of the discords of the past, and the gossamer fabric of a new idealism is being woven on the loom of the modern scientific mind. This expansion of the individual consciousness into the universal, is the keynote to the music of the infinite, which is sung throughout the Upanishad. It is a living faith, an inward spiritual experience, not a mere outward intellectual apprehension in space and time. Therefore it never stands appalled at the vastness and multiplicity of the Universe, knowing that within the spirit the whole world rests as idea, just as in the kernel of the acorn lies the promise and potency of the giant oak.

To a mind trained in the ancient modes of thought of India, an apprehension of infinity which is conditioned by the measuring rod and the chronometer, has no importance. To the imagination of India, the distinction between the finite and the infinity, between time and eternity, is resolved in harmony and rhythm and conscious life. The infinite is grasped, not as an abstract philosophical idea, but as the one living reality among all finite forms and experiences.

Western scholars have often compared the *Advaitam* of ancient Indian thought with the *Absolutism* in Western philosophy. They have regarded it as a negative idea derived from living experience But no Indian over thought of the *advaita* philosophy in that way. Rather the *Advaita* doc-

trine, in its purest form, represents a living synthesis, in which the static and dynamic, the being and becoming, the unconscious and the conscious, the one and the many, have been knit together closely in an interplay of forces, which are never in discord one with another.

Perhaps the Bhagavad-Gita is the book which best represents the synthesis underlying the whole *Advaita* doctrine in its application to human life. It traces this out along the different paths of *jñána*, knowledge ; *karma*, work ; and *bhakti*, devotion. It then shows in what manner, along each path, the goal of the *Advaitam* may be reached. The *mukti*, or freedom of consciousness, that is thus attained, is not mere emptiness but connotes the full consciousness of the universal.

Furthermore, the conception of personality has never been confined in India to the limits of the individual self. Personality has rather been regarded as the coming forth of the individual into that which is universal. The environment of the individual, being part of the self, the wider it reaches out, the wider and larger it spiritually grows. In this sense to lose the lower self is to find the higher self. Ultimately, when all selfishness has been eliminated, the consciousness of personality becomes universal.

The researches of modern psychology appear in a remarkable degree to corroborate the view here outlined. The idea is coming more and more into the foreground of human thought, and Sir J. C. Bose's experiments appear to be giving fresh evidence in its favour, that personality in a greater or less degree continues to exist throughout all nature, that is to say, throughout what is called inanimate as well as what is known as animate. The human personality, therefore, being itself the complex of innumerable lesser personalities, must have two aspects within itself, the one of self-isloation, the other of identification with others. Both these are true : and any system of ethics that gives undue prominence to the one apart from the other must be built up on a wrong foundation.

Call it by whatever name we will, there is a form of consciousness, rare but nevertheless actually attained by men and women who are living today, in which we pass beyond the present bounds of time and space. There the One and the Many, the Finite and the Infinite, meet. All the universe is surcharged with infinite beauty and wisdom, infinite goodness and love. Through each avenue of the spirit pours in, or issues forth, the divine fulness. It is what Wordsworth calls, 'that blessed mood' and the Upanishads

name *Anandam*. In this supra-normal state, the infinite, as the Vedanta says, 'breaks the cords of the heart' and sets the spirit free from its present outward limitations.

The Upanishads, the Bhagavadgita, Sankara's writings, the medieval saints like Kabir and Nanak, the modern sages and poets like Maharshi Debendranath and his son Rabindranath Tagore, are all of them filled with this ecstatic vision of the infinite. The very imagery in which the thought is clothed often coalesces and even coincides. In them, the infinite and the absolute are not consigned to an abstract perfection, that has no reference to the changes in life and time and place and form. Rather in the midst of all the changing manifoldness and transitory appearance of the outward form, the one absolute is perceived and known.

We are beginning to feel in India, with a thrill of delight and of expectation, that the same stream of spiritual self-realisation, which was our life in the past, is coursing still through our present art and poetry. As we pursue its long history with the eyes of the mind, from the dim back-ground of the past right down to the present, the urgent claim reaches our ear from the West that the human world still needs this mighty conception of the Infinite, in which religion and science are united, in which our consciousness ranges onward, in ever-widening circles, till it embraces the very dust and stones.

A purely materialistic interpretation of the universe can never satisfy the human heart, or ever fulfil the demands of the intellect. Mankind has already grown tired of its assumptions. A larger, ampler and wider faith is needed for our age. Yet the material side of modern life has advanced, while the moral side has not yet been able to keep pace. The soul of man has sought in vain for its proper nourishment and food. Over all the doubt and perplexity, the haste and confusion, of the apparently triumphant West, the cry of the Prophet of Nazareth is heard:

What shall it profit a man, if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?

III

Indo-Cham Art in Champa (Anam).

By Phanindranath Bose, M.A.

Indian art and sculpture travelled over the main-land of Further India along with Indian civilisation in the early centuries of the Christian Era. It gradually penetrated Siam, Cambodia, Champa (Anam), as well as into Java and other islands of the Indian archipelago. And in these travels Religion was its vehicle. With the acceptance of the cult of Siva or Vishnu, or the teachings of Lord Buddha, by the inhabitants of the Further East, the necessity of making images of Brahma, Vishnu, Siva as well as of Buddha and of Bodhisattvas arose, as well as of erecting temples in order to enshrine these new gods and goddesses.

The architects and sculptors must have had to serve as disciples under Indian *Gurus,* brought over perhaps from India, from whom they learned the canons of Indian iconography. In some cases they followed these in a graceful manner of their own ; in others they could not grasp their full significance, and the result was a lowering of the high standard of the Indian original.

While Cambodia provides us with the best specimens of Indian art and sculpture in Further India, and Java has preserved for us the vast pyramidal temple of Borobudor, the artists of Champa were not inspired by the Indian ideal in the same way. They followed the Indian canons, and got the Indian form,—bereft, however, of the inspiration. The result was that they could not approach the best specimens of Indian sculpture of the Gupta Period.

It is nevertheless interesting to consider the extent and nature of influence which Indian art exerted in Champa and what images, symbols and designs were favoured by the artists of Champa, which was under the domination of Indian culture for more than thousand years from the 3rd century to the 15th century A. D.

It was possible for Indian art to exert so much influence on Cham art because of the colonisation and occupation of Champa by the Indian settlers. Indian colonists and merchants had been in touch with Champa from the 1st century A. D. Ptolemy, who wrote about A. D. 150, mentions many geographical names in Further India of Sanskrit origin. The legends of Fou-Nan (which comprised Champa and Camboja) as transmitted by the

Chinese, tell us that a stranger named Houen Tien, who practised the Brahmanic cult invaded the kingdom of Fou-Nan, married the queen and made himself the master of the place. M. Pelliot (Le Fou Nan 291) believes that this tradition is only a reminiscence of the first colonisation of Champa by the Hindus in the first century A. D.

This theory is supported by the earliest epigraphic document yet found, an inscription of a king of the family of Srî Mára, who was perhaps the founder of the Indian dynasty of Champa(1). Though this document is not dated, it bears a close resemblance to the celebrated inscription of Rudradamana at Girnar and to the contemporary inscription of Satakarni Vasishthiputra at Kanheri. M. A. Bergaigne, on epigraphical grounds, places this earliest record in Sanskrit in Champa in the third century A. D.(2) It is precisely the time which Chinese historians ascribe to the foundation of a new kingdom at the southern extremity of their Empire.

Thus it seems that from the beginning of the first century A. D., if not earlier, Indians were in touch with Champa and by the second century A. D. they had established their suzerainty over the Chams, the original inhabitants.

Where did these Indian colonists come from? M. A. Bergaigne holds that they hailed from southern India and professed the Brahmanical faith. Indeed, we find in Champa, the image of Siva Nata Rája, which is found in large numbers in Southern India, and some other images which are rare in Northern India. But the Mahayana form of Buddhism, which spread over Champa, flourished mostly in Northern India. It is rather probable that both the Northern and Southern parts of India had each supplied their quota of colonists to Champa.

With the establishment of the Hindu colony in Champa, Hindu civilisation and culture found easy acceptance in that land. The Chams evidently looked upon the culture of the Indians as superior, and came to adopt their manners and customs. The Indian kings of Champa also began to erect in the land of their adoption new temples dedicated to the images of their own gods and goddesses. The inscription of Vo Can (the first of its kind in Champa) is nothing but a grant for a temple. The inscription of Dharma Maharaja Sri Bhadravarman I refers to the temple dedicated by the king to Siva. Thus Indian art and architecture received their initial impetus. Private individuals also made liberal grants for Indian images

(1) *cf. Le Royaume de campa*—M. Maspero in *T'Oung Pao* 1910.
(2) *cf. A. Bergaigne :—Inscriptions Somscrites de campa (1889).*

and temples. The result is that we have a great variety of Hindu and Buddhist images still preserved in the land of the Chams(3). In our study of Indian art and sculpture in Champa, however, we have to take into consideration not only these monuments but also such sidelights as may be found to be thrown on their religion.

Champa welcomed both Hinduism and Buddhism from India, but more specially the former. The cults of Siva and Vishnu were clearly in great favour, for not only do we find numerous images of these deities but also of their consorts Párvatî and Laksmî. Brahmá, the creative personality of the Hindu trinity, however, was not so popular. Buddhism also prevailed in Champa but did not flourish to the same extent as in Java or China. It is generally asserted that Hinduism is not a proselytising religion like Buddhism. In this case, however, we find Hinduism overspreading this foreign land, making converts and turning it into a country of Hindu gods and goddesses. In India itself, Hinduism has also absorbed within its fold numerous outsiders(4).

The influence of Indian Art is further clearly perceptible in the decorative designs and motives used mainly in Cham architecture and sculpture. For instance the *Padma* (lotus), as in India, claimed the prominent attention of the artists of Champa, and as in the sculptures of Bharut, Sachi and Amaravati, it served as a highly decorative motive. It is the emblem of purity and chastity, so it finds a happy place in religious sculptures.

Sometimes animals referred to in the Indian myths, such as Makara and Garuda, play their part in Cham sculpture. As in India, *Garuda* is seen carrying Vishnu on his back (at Hurng-thanh) or fighting with serpents as at Van-turong. *Garuda,* though the king of birds, is not represented like an ordinary bird, but rather like a human being with wings. The Indian *Makara* also caught the fancy of the Cham artists. It is found in the *frontons* of Binh-Lam and at Khuong-my. Sometimes from his mouth a human figure or a Nandin is seen escaping. M. H. Parmenfier thinks that the *Makara* played the same part in the field of decorative design in Champa as the Cham lion. The *Nága* with three, seven or nine heads is also used as a decorative element, but its importance in the Cham designs is only secondary.

(3) M. L. Finot has done good service in the cause of Indo-Chamart by making a list of Champa monuments under the title of Inventaire Sommaire des monuments chams de l'annam B. E. F. E.—O. Tome I P. 27.

(4) Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, in his paper on "Foreign Element in Hindu Society" has ably dealt with this point. (*Vide* Indian Antiquary, 1911).

Brahmanic Sculptures: The Brahmanic sculptures in Champa include the images of Brahmá, Vishnu, Siva, Umá, Lakshmî, Ganesa, Garuda and Nandin.

Brahmá, the first personage of the Hindu trinity, is not a conspicuous figure among the Brahmanic monuments of Champa, where, as in India, his temples or images are not numerous. In the Matsya Purána, Brahmá is described as having four faces. Sometimes he is seated on a *hamsa* and sometimes on a lotus. In Champa, too, Brahma's characteristic is that he is *chatur-mukha*. He is seen in the bas-relief of Tourane and also at Myson(5). Sometimes he is represented along with the other deities of the Hindu trinity.

The most popular of the gods of the Hindu trinity in Champa was Siva who seems to have caught the imagination of the Chams. The images and temples of Siva are often referred to in the Champa inscriptions, wherein homage is paid to Siva, the Mahadeva, with numerous epithets such as Sarva, Bhava, Pashupati, Ishána, Bhîma, Rudra, and Mahesvara.

Siva was regarded as the guardian deity of Champápura, as the capital of Champa was called. The earliest local inscription in which we get a reference to Siva worship, belongs to the fourth century A. D. The imperial Guptas were then ruling over Northern India. It was also the time, which witnessed the revival of Hinduism in India. It is not improbable that the wave of this Neo-Hinduism in the mother-country reached the colony of Champa and strengthened the hands of the Hindu colonists.

The sculptors of Champa made the images of Siva in various postures. They, however, seemed to prefer to represent and worship Siva in the form of a *lingam* (phallus). A tower in Pho-hai still contains a lingam *in situ* in the centre of the sanctuary. In India, at the present day, most of the Siva temples contain nothing but the *lingam*. The worship of the *lingam* was perhaps prevalent in Rigvedic times(6). Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, though he found no trace of this worship in the earlier literature, does not deny the possibility of its existence at that early period(7). Whether or not we agree with Hopkins as to the Greek influence behind *lingam* worship, no one will deny that the worship of Siva and his emblem, the *lingam*, was of Non-Aryan origin.

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(5) M. Finot—La Religion des Chams d'apres les monuments. (B. E. F. E.—O. I.)
(6) Hopkins :—*Religions in India* P. 150, n.
(7) R. G. Bhandarkar :—*Vaisnavism, Saivism, and minor religious systems* P. 104.

Besides the more usual form of *lingam* in Champa we come across another type known as *Mukha-linga,* that is to say, a phallus with a face. M. Aymonier, the pioneer in the field of Indo-Sinology, discovered one such *mukha-linga* in the tower of Po Klong Garai. He thus describes it: "In the interior of the tower.....the idol is a linga. On this linga is sculptured in half-hunch a fine head of a male divinity of natural grandeur bearing fine moustaches. This is certainly Siva"(8).

M. Finot, the Director of the French School in the Far East, remarks, however, that it is more exact to say that it is the founder king of the temple identified with the God Siva. The Cham sculptor, here, made a departure from the accepted lines and brought in his own ideas about dress, —the physiognomy, head-dress and ornaments of the *mukha-linga* being exactly those which the Champa sculptors invariably give to Champa kings(9).

Many mukha-lingas have been discovered in India. General Cunningham found one at Sahri-bahlol(10). Among the finds of the Varendra Research Society of Rajshahi, there is a Siva lingam with one face in black chlorite stone(11). The earliest instance of *mukha-linga* in India goes back to the first century B.C.(12). The idea here also was to identify a human being with the Deity whose image he dedicated.

This shows that the Indian colonial art drew its inspiration from the mother-country, but when the *mukha-linga* was identified with some local chief, the dress and ornaments were not imitated from Indian sculpture, buut were a representation of those in actual use in Champa. The colonial artists having thus apparently reserved freedom in matters of detail.

Siva is also seen in Champa in his other usual Indian forms. M. Finot speaks of two bas-reliefs of Tourane, which represent Siva on Nandin, his bull, bearing a lance in the attitude of attack. This form is not special to Champa. The canons laid down by Hemadri correspond to this attitude of Siva. He describes Siva as riding a bull, but having five faces.

In front of the temple of Po-klong Garai, Siva is represented in a standing posture with six arms. His two upper arms are clasped behind

(8) J. A. 1888 pp. 67-68.
(9) B. E. F. E. O. Vol. I p. 14.
(10) A. S. R. Vol. V p. 45.
(11) Its photo (bearing No. 82) is given in their catalogue.
(12) In the Annual Report of the Archæological Survey (1909-10) Mr. R. D. Banerjee describes a *mukha-linga* (height 4′4″) which came from Bhita in the Allahabad District.

the head, and the others bear a *trisûla,* a lotus, a sword and a bowl respectively—the usual emblems of Siva. In India, Images of Siva are found with arms ranging from two to ten.

Natarája, the well-known dancing figure of Siva, which is so conspicuous in Southern India, is one of the forms which has found its way into Champa. Siva is represented as dancing the *tándava* in the bas-relief at Tourane. The dance of Siva in the form of *Natarája* symbolises 'the action of cosmic energy in creating, preserving and destroying the visible universe.'(13) This Nataráj form of Siva though more popular in the South, is not actually lacking in other parts of India. An image of Natarája Siva was found in the District of Dacca.

Another bas-relief at Tourane shows Siva seated with a rosary of beads in one hand and a *trisula* in the other. In the collection of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad (Calcutta), there is a fragment of a seated image of image of Siva in hard black stone, the upper part of which is wanting. Siva is also seen in Champa as the Dvarapala of temples. The best specimen is from Dong-Durong.

What we thus know from the Cham monuments may be supplemented by the evidence of Champa inscriptions. We find no mention of Siva or Siva worship in the inscription of the descendant of Srimara, which is the earliest epigraphic record in Champa. We, however, know from the time of Bhadravarman I, that is during the fifth century Saka, Siva was worshipped under the name of Bhadresvara. Perhaps human sacrifices were offered to Siva at that time because in one inscription of the same king we read—*Sivadása badhyate*(14).

In 709 Saka, the Javanese attacked Champa and burnt down the temple of Siva, known as Bhadrádhipatîsvara. The original founder of this Siva temple was perhaps Bhadrádhipatî or Bhadra-varman. Champa was not, however, wanting in devotees of Siva, who rebuilt the burnt temple. It was Indravarman who re-erected this temple of Siva and re-named the image *Indra-Bhadresvara,* after his own name. In inscription No. XXIII we read(17) of two other foundations of Indravarman I in honour of Siva, bearing the names of Indrabhogesvara and Indraparamesvara.

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(13) H. Sastri— South Indian Images of gods and goddesses p. 79.
(14) *Cf.* A Bergaigne—Inscriptions du Campa. All the numbers here given refer to those given in this work.

The predecessor of Indravarman I, Satyavarman had given his name to an image of Siva, *viz*—*Satya-mukhalinga-deva*. This *Mukha-linga* was afterwards the object of the liberality of Vikrantavarman, to which reference is made in the different inscriptions of the stele of Po-Nagar (No. XXVI). According to inscription No. XXIV, Vikrantavarman also erected other images of Siva by the name of *Vikránta-Rudresvara* and *Vikránta-devádhi-Bhadresvara*(15).

Siva's *sakti* is worshipped in Champa under the name of *Umá*. Umá is one of the numerous names of Siva's consort. She is also known as Gauri,, Parvatî, Chandî and Kalî. Though in India, we have a large number of *saktas*, the figure of Umá is not very common, being usually found only with Mahesvara. There is a good collection of Umá-Mahesvara images in the Indian Museum and in the Museums of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad and of the Varendra Research Society. According to the canonical books, the general form of Umá, or Gaurî, or Párvatî, when represented separately, has four hands. She wears a *Jatámukuta*, her lower hands in the *Varadá* and *Abhayá* postures and upper hands holding red and blue lotuses.

Umá Bhagavatî was one of the most popular goddesses of Champa. To her is consecrated the great sanctuary of Po-Nagar at Nhatrang in Champa where her image still exists *in situ*. She maintains her popularity to this day and receives the same worship from the present Anamites, as she used to get from the former Chams. At Po-Nagar, we find the goddess in a sitting posture with legs crossed in Indian fashion and her hands placed on the knees. In her eight hands, she has a knife and cymbal, an arrow and an elephant-tusk, a disc and a folding object, a lance and an arc. The throne is supported by a lotus which may be called a Padmásana(16). M. Aymonier is of opinion that this image of Umá is not very old and he places it at A.D. 965(17). The goddess Umá is also represented as seated on *Nandin*. An image ofUmá in this attitude was discovered in the village of Chien-dang in Champa, and is now preserved in the Museum of L'Ecole Francaise at Hanol. In bas-relief of My-son, she is seen standing, in the attitude of dance, with the different emblems the disc, arc, snare, etc., in her hands.

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(15) See L'ancien Royaume de Campa dans L'Indo-chine d'apres les inscriptions. J. A. 1888 Jan.

(16) See B. E. F. E. O. Tome I p. 15; for a representation of the goddess see fig I.

(17) Aymonier—*Etude Sur les Inscriptions Tchames* p. 27.

Like Siva, Vishnu was also popular in Champa. M. Finot mentions a remarkable instance of the statue of Vishnu, possessing both an epigraphical and an iconographical interest. It was first described by M. Aymonier in 1891. It was popularly believed to bear a Khmer inscription, but it was afterwards found to be a Cham inscription, which was translated by M. Aymonier. It was discovered in the forest of the village of Binh-truoc and eventually removed to the pagoda of Bru-son, where it is impossible to photograph the monument. Vishnu is seated on a stele, wears a *mukuta* and bracelets. He is, according to the Indian fashion, four-armed (chatur-bhuja). In the upper two hands he holds a *chakra* and a *sankhâ,* and *gadá* in the lower two arms. Only the *padma* is wanting.

Another mutilated statue of Vishnu is found at Co-thanh. The figures of Vishnu on garuda are also represented on the bas-relief of My-son. General Cunningham discovered a colossal seated statue of Vishnu at Garhwa, which is like the Champa image. It is six feet high and four feet broad and is made of coarse sandstone. From the inscription on the statue, we can fix its date at the tenth century A.D.(18). Almost all the Bengal images of Vishnu, however, are in the standing posture. Varáhamihira says that the image of Vishnu should be four-armed, as we find in the case of the Champa images. The right hands should hold a club and be in the posture of *sánti* and the left hands a conch and a disc. Our Champa monument complies with these directions. This Champa image of Vishnu, however, is not as graceful as some of its Indian prototypes(19).

Images of Lakshmî, the consort of Vishnu, are not rare in Champa.

Though in India Ganesa is believed to be the destroyer of all evils, he is not much in evidence in Champa.

Both *Nandin,* the steed of Siva and *Garuda,* the steed of Vishnu were adopted in Champa.

Buddhist Sculptures :—It is surprising that while Hinduism made such headway, Buddhism, which penetrated so far into China and Japan, could not make much progress in Champa. This may be due to the fact that most of the kings of Champa were Hindus and that they were busy making endowments to Hindu gods and goddesses.

The remains of Buddhist sculptures in Champa show that Buddhism prevailed side by side with Hinduism, though it could not rival the latter.

(18) A. S. R. Vol. III p. 56.
(19) See fig. 4 in B. E. F. E.—O. Tome I.

I-tsing, the great Chinese traveller observed:—"In that country the Buddhists belong generally to the *Arya Sammiti Nikáya*". It is thus clear that the Champu Buddhism belonged to the Mahâyâna school.

At present there are but few Buddhist temples in Champa. At Dong-Durong, a Buddhist temple with four doors was discovered, which may have been a local centre of Buddhism. It was here that the great statue of Buddhism was found. This represents Buddha in a sitting posture, hands on knees. He has a *ushnîsa* on the head, which is unfortunately now separated from the trunk, and an *urna* in the centre. This image is now in the Museum of *L'ecole Francaise d'extreme-Orient* at Hanoi. In the forest near Dong-Durong three Buddhas were found. A head of Buddha was also discovered in the neighbourhood.

A bronze statue of a Bodhisattva, seated in Indian fashion on a *Nága*, found near Binh-dinh by Mgr. Van Cammelbeke, is also in the Hanoi Museum. Various seals or medallions, used by the Buddhist monks, have been discovered in different places, bearing the images of Buddhist deities or sacred symbols.

All these instances of Hindu and Buddhist sculptures in Champa show clearly that the Champa artists received their inspiration from India. Though good imitators, they were not creative artists, so that their productions became inferior in quality and lacked expressiveness.

This art of Champa, which is Indian in origin and design, but Cham in execution, may be termed Indo-Cham art.

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